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THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING.

THE problem of suffering has always had what may seem a strange attraction for the human mind; and yet it is not strange that men should have felt impelled to exercise their intellectual powers on this subject, for it is an important part of the great problem of existence. So long as men think and so long as they feel constrained to ask the question, Why do we exist? so long will they ask the additional question, Why do we suffer? It need not be expected that a complete answer will ever be gained by us in this world, for the question runs up into and is intimately connected with the insoluble problem of the existence of evil. Even the light of Christianity has not cleared up all the mysteries of the subject. This, however, it has done—it has taught men clearly that sin and suffering are closely connected, while at the same time it has removed many of the false conclusions that men have drawn from this general truth. The subject is a vast one, and all that can be attempted in the present paper is to glance very briefly at some of the stages by which we have arrived at truer views of suffering than men once held, and more particularly to notice the way in which Christ treated the problem and the lessons his words are fitted to teach us.

The view men take of suffering necessarily depends in great measure upon their conception of God, for to the deity men, and especially primitive men, not unnaturally are led to directly attribute their sufferings when they cannot explain the cause of them in any other way. Primitive men in common with our modern men of science do not believe in things happening by chance. They are inclined to postulate behind all actions the existence of personalities on a grander scale than, but not unlike, themselves. Thus when evils befell them that could not be ascribed to any human agent they believed that they must be the result of some super-

natural power, and when they asked themselves why this power inflicted sufferings upon them two answers were possible. It might be that there were invisible beings who, like some men, took a pleasure in inflicting pain and in seeing others suffer, or it might be that the suffering was sent by some being who, though benevolent, or at least not malevolent, had been displeased by their conduct. The former of these views has been accepted by many, and we thus often find not only among savage tribes but even among civilized peoples a belief in the existence of unfriendly as well as of friendly deities, both of whom have to be served and to be propitiated with offerings and sacrifices. This belief enables men readily to explain the existence of evil in the world, and it is therefore not surprising that it should be very widely held and very persistently believed in, and should appear in many different guises. Like most easy solutions of difficult problems, however, it is not satisfactory. It is better at once to confess that the existence of evil involves a mystery than to remove the difficulty a step farther back at the price of giving up our belief in one great first cause, and of reducing the universe to the battle-ground of warring divine powers of good and evil.

As men gained higher views of the nature of God, and as they recognised that certain actions and courses of conduct which their own moral sense condemned were followed by suffering, they began to perceive the great truth that suffering and sin are causally connected. Dimly they began to recognise the moral order of the universe and to see that the ways of transgressors are hard. We can trace in Greek literature the development of this idea, but so long as men's idea of God remained unpurified a mere recognition of the connexion between sin and suffering could not lead them very far. Sin is an offence against God, but if the deity worshipped is, like men, capricious and unreasonable, suffering, it may be expected, will be distributed in ways in which it is possible to find no worthy reason. Thus when it was observed that prosperous men often fell into adversity it seemed to the ordinary Greek no blasphemy to say that the gods had been jealous of the man's good fortune. To others, however, such representations of the deity seemed most unworthy. Æschylus, the great dramatist, for instance, tried to purify and elevate popular conceptions on religious subjects, and he sought to vindicate the ways of God to men, and to show them that it was not prosperity but the sin and pride that so often accompanied prosperity that brought down the divine displeasure on the heads of mortals.

As soon as men obtain what they regard as a general principle they begin to draw particular conclusions and to apply it in individual cases. It was natural, therefore, that as soon as men realised that sin and suffering were connected they should have attempted to use their knowledge in explanation of the facts they fell in with in their daily lives. If a man is sinful, they said, he will suffer; if he is righteous, he will prosper. Moreover, they went on, if a man suffers it is because he is sinful, if he prospers, it is because he does what is right. But this simple deduction soon led them into difficulties. This too we can see in Greek literature, but it is best seen when we turn to the Bible, for God's revelation of Himself to men was gradual and only slowly did they learn the truths that the experience of life teaches. In the older books of the Old Testament we find that the idea just referred to was regarded by the ordinary Hebrew as the great maxim for guidance through life. His conceptions of the future life were vague and shadowy though he realised very vividly the truth that God may be seen working in the events of the present. Outward prosperity, therefore, was regarded as the token of the approval of Jehovah, while severe affliction was looked upon as the sign of His wrath with an unrighteous individual or an unrighteous nation.

As time went on and thoughtful men applied their rule, here one and there another found exceptions to it. The righteous did not always prosper, the wicked sometimes flourished like a green tree! It was this that perplexed such men as the writers of the 37th and 73rd Psalms. They found that the old maxim did not seem to account for all the facts that they met with in their experience. The author of the 37th Psalm found relief from his perplexity in the thought that the prosperity of the wicked and the adversity of the righteous were alike merely temporary, and that soon the wicked would be cut down and wither like the grass while the righteous would dwell in the land. In the 73rd Psalm we hear the cry of one who felt that the old explanation was not sufficient. "In vain," the writer says, "have I cleansed my heart and washed my hands in innocency, for all the day long have I been plagued and chastened every morning." He too finds some consolation in the thought that things would yet be righted, but he would have sunk under what he considered his unmerited sufferings had he not been sustained by his constant faith in God and by his belief that God was continually with him and would afterward receive him to glory.

It is in the book of Job, however, that the problem is most

clearly stated and is worked out at greatest length. Job, a God-fearing and upright man, is visited with the most terrible and trying misfortunes. How is this to be explained? Three friends come to see him in his troubles and present him with the old solution. His sufferings, they tell him, are the result and punishment of his sin. He has been successful in hiding his sin from man, but God sees it and knows it and is punishing him for it. Let him repent and confess that the punishing hand of the Almighty may be removed from him. But Job is conscious of his integrity. He knows that he is no hypocrite and that he is innocent of the sins his friends suggest he has committed. But this knowledge makes his perplexity all the greater. If he is innocent how can God be just in inflicting all these miseries upon him? He knows that God is just and loving, and he continues to trust Him even though his faith at times is strained almost to the breaking point, but he feels that the justice and love of God cannot be reconciled with the maxim his friends put forward, that his suffering is the punishment of sin, when he knows that he has not sinned. The book does not give a complete answer to the problem. Job at one time seems to find relief in the thought of a future life, but the answer he ultimately gets is that God's ways are higher than man's ways, and that it is man's duty to trust in God and to submit humbly to whatever He may send. This, however, is not the complete answer of the book, for we learn what the divine purpose in the sufferings of Job was from the prologue that forms the first chapter. There we see that the suffering inflicted upon Job was not penal but educational. It was part of the discipline of his life, and his sufferings tested his faith, brought it more clearly to light, and ultimately made it stronger.

The recognition of the fact that suffering may be sent not only as the punishment of a jealous God avenging His broken law but also as a means of discipline, an instrument used by a loving and almighty Father, marks a great advance in religious thought. It is the conception of suffering with which we become familiar in the New Testament, but we see from not a few passages in the Old Testament that to this conception some men of keen religious and spiritual insight attained even before Christ came and showed us the Father. A still greater advance is found in some of the prophets, especially in the Book of Isaiah, where the possibility and reality of vicarious suffering are recognised and "the Servant of the Lord" is described as suffering on behalf of others. It was no

new idea that a man might suffer because of others. That idea had been made familiar by the belief in the unity of the race and of the family. If a father sinned, his children too were believed to be guilty and shared in the consequent punishment and suffering. So common was this belief that we find Ezekiel protesting against it in his prophecy, *maintaining the rights of the individual, and* asserting that the soul that sinneth it shall die. But this old idea was very different from that contained in the prophecies of Isaiah. In the old view those who suffered were not innocent but suffered as being tainted with the family sin, and it was a great advance when the truth was recognised that one might suffer vicariously for faults that were not one's own, and might even by one's sufferings aid those who were really themselves guilty. The Christian Church was following a true instinct when it recognised in these wonderful chapters of Isaiah a portrait and a prophecy of Him who has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows.

Turning now to the New Testament we see at once that the Jews of the time of Christ had failed to assimilate the lessons of their great religious teachers. From the whole Gospel record we learn how difficult it was for them to find a place in their thoughts for a suffering Messiah. Even the best and most earnest men amongst them, Christ's own disciples, held the old crude view of the connexion between sin and suffering. This is well brought out by an incident recorded in the ninth chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, to which as exhibiting Christ's method of treating the subject we shall devote special attention. Passing along the road in Jerusalem one day the disciples called Christ's attention to a man who was sitting by the roadside begging. The man was blind and had been so from his birth. The disciples had probably been long acquainted with this fact, but on that particular day it started in their minds the difficulties of the problem of suffering. In their perplexity they turned to their Master and said: "Lord, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" Their quession shows at once their mental attitude to the problem. To be born blind is a great calamity; therefore, they argued, there must have been some great sin committed to be the cause of the misfortune of the man they saw sitting begging before them. The fact that the man had been *born* blind, however, perplexed them, and their question reflects the confusion of their thought when they asked whether it was the man's own sin or that of his parents that was the cause of his being born blind.

Some have fancied that the disciples had some confused idea that the man was suffering for what he had done in a previous life, but this is unlikely, for there is but little trace of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls among the Jews. That doctrine, so popular in this country, so attractive in many ways, is no solution of the difficulty; it merely throws the difficulty a little farther back. Besides, to tell a man he is suffering because he sinned in an existence of which he is ignorant and unconscious, and for which he feels he can admit no responsibility, is, besides its antecedent incredibility, no answer to the difficulty he feels. It would be regarded as folly to assert that a man is the same as the things into the constitution of which those elements that now form his body once entered. It is as great an abuse of language to tell a man that he is the same as certain beings who once existed but of whose existence neither he nor any one else has any knowledge or any recollection. The break between the past and the present is equally great in both cases, and when the break between the past and the present is so complete as it is admitted to be, talk about previous existences may interest one as a fairy tale does, but it cannot be regarded as even a possible answer to the difficulties raised by our present life. It is much more probable that the disciples did not quite think of what they were saying, and that what was really present to their minds was the second alternative, for, as we have seen, the doctrine of hereditary suffering was as fully recognised by the Jews as it is by modern science. The point to notice is that they argued from the individual sufferer to some individual sin, and thought that the one must be directly the effect of the other.

Let us now look at the way in which Christ treated their question. It was not the only time that he had to deal with this mistaken belief. In the thirteenth chapter of the Gospel according to St. Luke we find him combating the same crude popular view. On that occasion we find him pointing out to the people that the Galileans who were slain by Pilate, the Roman Governor, while they were in the act of offering sacrifices to God in the Temple at Jerusalem, and the men who were killed by the fall of the Tower of Siloam, were not to be regarded as the special objects of God's wrath, chosen as victims on account of their conspicuous wickedness. So now we find him warning his disciples that they must not fancy that they could account in the rough and ready way they adopted for every individual case of suffering. "Neither hath this man sinned nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him," was

his reply, and so saying he healed the fortunate man He, of course, did not here mean to say that these persons were, unlike all others, free from sin. All that he meant was that the man's infirmity was not to be attributed to some special act of wickedness in his family. But Christ did more than warn his disciples against coming to hasty and uncharitable conclusions; he showed them the right way in which to look at the matter. They ought, he pointed out, to regard such cases as opportunities given by God for the display of love and tenderness on our part. The man was born blind, he said, that in him might be manifested the works of God. The sufferings of others, whatever their cause may be, and whatever else they are, are God-given opportunities for us to show what manner of persons we are, and to prove whether we are fellow-workers with God.

There, as on many other occasions, Christ made a practical use of what were, before he dealt with them, merely idle speculations. There is no harm in speculating about subjects of religious importance, but let us beware of stopping there. We may know all about the theory of Christianity, but if we do not let the theory influence our lives it is of little use to us, however complete our knowledge or however logical our creed may be. "Are there few that be saved?" asked a man one day. "Enter ye in at the strait gate," was Christ's reply. So in the case of the men slain by Pilate, Christ in effect said: "You are speculating as to what sin these Galileans committed. Think rather of your own sins and of what you deserve for them." And so too here. "You are wondering," he says to his disciples, "and are perplexed about the connexion between sin and suffering. Your duty is to assist the sufferers."

The divineness of Christ's teaching is constantly seen by the way in which he rises not only above the popular religious beliefs of his time but even above the grooves of thought in which religious people in all ages tend to let their minds run. Christ, who hated sin more than any one else on earth ever did, yet taught that it was a godlike thing to relieve the suffering that flowed from it. Because in the providence of God suffering is often the consequence of sin we may not stand coldly and unconcernedly aloof from the sufferer and tell him it is all his own fault. It is perhaps not so common now as it once was for men to see in the troubles of those they dislike, or with whom they disagree, the judgments of an angry God, while in their own misfortunes they see only the trial of faith and the discipline of a son of God, but the old spirit shows itself in different forms still. The Pharisaic spirit is still very strong, and the

uncharitable censoriousness, the overweening self-complacence, and the arrogant claims to insight into the divine will that are characteristic of much that is called religious life, are manifestations of the same unloving and unlovely spirit that Christ condemned.

The disciples of Christ were soon to learn a better philosophy of suffering than the one they knew when the case of the blind man perplexed them. Before many days passed they saw the passion of their own sinless Master, and beheld him who knew no sin suffer and die for the sake of others. During the years that followed they learned in their wider experience of life that in this present world suffering may be the lot of those who follow most closely in their Master's steps. They learned to look beyond the things that are seen, and to recognise that the sufferings of this life may be a means of working out for a man a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.

From Christ's teaching on this and on other occasions we may learn the true way of regarding suffering. There are in the universe, Christianity teaches us, physical evils and moral evils. The disorder in the physical universe and the disorder in the moral universe are distinct things, and yet are connected. Sometimes the connexion is evident, as when a man ruins himself body and soul by dissipation, but frequently we cannot see the connexion. Constituted as we are, we are liable to many natural evils that we cannot directly connect with moral evil, and yet we are warranted in believing that moral and physical evil are connected. Our physical constitution makes us liable to these evils just as our being human implies the possibility of our sinning, and we should not be men if we were not liable to suffering.

Again, God governs this universe by laws, and if we put ourselves in opposition to any of His laws, whether in ignorance or wilfully, we must expect to suffer. In all departments of life men reap as they have sown, and even divine forgiveness does not disregard the majesty of divine law. If, for example, a country violates the laws of health the sickness or pestilence that follows is the penalty that has to be paid. We are not entitled to see in such a calamity a special visitation for sin, but yet the sight of this physical disorder rightly turns men's thoughts to God's wrath against sin and to their great demerits. While we try to relieve the suffering we should be led by all such calamities, as by all the evils that come upon us, to think of the disorder that sin has caused in God's good world.

Christianity, as has been said, does not profess to be able to clear away all the mysteries of the problem, but it imparts an element of hope. If we have learnt through Christ to call God our Father we need no longer look upon these physical evils, with all the sufferings they entail, as punishments, for behind them all we can see the hand of a loving Father working for our good. Suffering is a great educator, for sympathy and other most divine graces are best developed by suffering, and it is only some such thought as that that can sustain us when we look around in the world and see the mass of human suffering it contains. At times our faith is tried and we feel tempted to ask impatiently: To what end is this waste of human life, of human joy and happiness? What end does it all serve? We can face that question only if we believe that God has a purpose of love to mankind wider than we are sometimes willing to believe, and that the means He uses in working out His plan are, though at times unpleasant in our sight, the best that omniscient love can employ for weak and sinful man. The thought that our Father has made us and loves us, and that His way is the best, must never become an excuse for our own indolence or for unwillingness to become fellow-workers with Him, but it should make us leave our future to Him with confidence, and if He sees that suffering is the best thing for us let us remember that even the Captain of our Salvation, Jesus Christ, was made perfect through suffering.

E. MONTEITH MACPHAIL

ASOKA :—II.

THE early years of Asoka's reign do not seem to have been marked by any memorable events. Until the ninth year, during which he was brought into deadly warfare with the rulers of Kalinga, he appears to have directed his energies towards the consolidation of his empire and the slow but sure extension of its limits. In the ninth year, however, as has just been indicated, a war broke out between the kingdom of Magadha and the neighbouring power of Kalinga. The bloody conflict which terminated with the conquest of Kalinga is an event of the utmost significance in several ways. In the first place, it brought Southern Bengal and Orissa for the first time into close political relation with Magadha and Northern India;

and secondly, it wrought such a mighty change in the temperament of Asoka, that his conversion to the Buddhistic faith must practically be dated from this time. Traditions, indeed, are not wanting to explain Asoka's change of faith in a fanciful manner. Thus one tradition ascribes the conversion of the king to a miracle performed by a Buddhist beggar. But this tradition, like many others, rests on no sure foundation, and we ought accordingly to reject it as untrustworthy. The true circumstances that led to Asoka's change of faith are described for us by Asoka himself in one of his edicts. In the thirteenth of the rock edicts it is said: "Vast is the kingdom of Kalinga conquered by King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods. Hundreds of thousands of creatures have been reduced to slavery, a hundred thousand have been killed. Since the conquest of Kalinga, the King, beloved of the gods, has turned towards religion, has been devoted to religion, has conceived a zeal for religion, and has applied himself to the diffusion of religion. So great was the regret which the beloved of the gods felt at the conquest of Kalinga. In conquering the country which was not subject to me, I, beloved of the gods, have deeply felt and sorrowed for the murders, the deaths, and the reducing of the native inhabitants to slavery. But this is what the beloved of the gods has felt and sorrowed for more keenly." This short passage speaks volumes for the sorrow with which the perpetration of the horrors involved in the conquest of Kalinga filled Asoka. After reducing to subjection the province of Kalinga at the cost of so many lives, he was smitten with bitter remorse and began to conceive an almost instinctive abhorrence of shedding the blood of living creatures. Henceforth his heart must have recoiled with horror from the sacrifices which he had, no doubt, previously offered under the advice of Brahmans.

Doubts have been entertained as to what was the religion of Asoka before he embraced Buddhism. It has been, however, conclusively established by Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra in his article on 'The Early Life of Asoka', published in the second volume of his *Indo-Aryans*, that he must have been a Hindu and not a Jain, as some have conjectured, before declaring himself a Buddhist. Though Asoka's conversion took place in the ninth year of his reign as reckoned from his coronation, the recollection of the horrors of the sanguinary warfare between himself and the people of Kalinga so stupefied him that he was unable to realise the change that had come over him until his second and definite con-

version in the eleventh year of his reign. From the moment this second conversion took place, he began a distinctively new era in his career, and proceeded to form plans for the propagation of the new faith to which he had become a convert, and for the dissemination of religious ideas in general among his subjects. The thirteenth year of his reign witnessed the promulgation of the first of those edicts which are so inseparably associated with his name. The situations of the most famous of the rocks, on which these edicts are found engraved, have already been described. These range over fifteen degrees of longitude and twenty-seven of latitude, and while giving us an occasional glimpse into the administration of Asoka and the salutary political reforms he seems to have introduced, are chiefly concerned with the exposition of popular religion and the inculcation of moral precepts. For the next thirteen years of his reign Asoka went on promulgating his edicts, without failing at the same time to adopt methods of government conducive to the welfare of the people. These edicts, expressing the universal religion of humanity, enjoined on his subjects the practical exercise of the precepts of goodness, virtue, benevolence, humanity, and religion; and further enforced dutiful service to parents, kindness to kinsfolk and acquaintances, filial veneration towards spiritual teachers, respectful obedience to masters; kindly consideration for servants and dependents, frugality and temperance in daily life, abstinence from evil speaking and slandering, and a tender regard forthe whole animal creation. The edicts, in fact, virtually denounce the ten vices recognised by Buddhism, *viz.*, taking away life, theft, adultery, lying, slander, abuse, vain conversation, covetousness, malice, and scepticism, and further recommend mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. Besides thus preaching popular morality and benevolence, Asoka expresses in his edicts a desire that there may be uniformity of religion and equality of rank. In one edict, he also sets forth the true happiness to be found in virtue, through which alone the blessings of heaven can be secured, and in another expatiates on the doctrine that the imparting of *dharma* or teaching of virtue to others is the greatest of charitable gifts.

During this period the most noteworthy event that transpired was the conference between the dignitaries of the Buddhistic order at a council held about the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign. It will be remembered that Gautama Buddha never wrote down any of his precepts. Writing was not unknown in India in Buddha's time, but it would then appear to have been a recent introduction and to

have been practised but little. All, therefore, that he did was to preach his *Dharma* (Law) during forty-five years of itineration and oral teaching. So, at three successive epochs after Buddha's death, three gatherings of his followers were held for the purpose of collecting his sayings and settling the true canon. At the first of the gatherings which took place immediately after his death at Rajagriha, the then capital city of Magadha, the first step seems to have been made towards a methodical arrangement of the teachings of Buddha. At the first council, five hundred of Buddha's disciples met and chanted the lessons of their master in three great divisions—the words of Buddha to his disciples known as the *Sutras;* his code of discipline styled *Vinaya;* and his system of doctrine designated *Abhidharma.* The *Sutras* are rules of conduct set forth by Buddha for the guidance of the city and they contain the general exposition of the doctrine. *Vinaya* consists of rules of discipline for the clergy. And *Abhidharma* comprises the metaphysics of the system. These three form the three great divisions of the famous *Tripitaka,* and it was at the first council that such a division was made of Buddha's teachings.

Just a century after the death of Buddha, a second council was called together at Visala. It reduced the Buddhistic canon to ten rules, and these not being universally agreed to, a schism resulted, the seceders styling themselves the Northern Buddhists. Hence it is that the stream of Buddhism flows in two different channels, known as the Northern Buddhism of Nepal, Thibet, and China, and the Southern Buddhism of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. About the middle of Asoka's reign Buddha's followers began to develop his doctrines and to make additions to them in such a way that the *Abhidharma* or 'further *Dharma*' had to be added to the *Sutra* which constituted the original *Dharma.* Even in Gautama's time there were great discussions. Afterwards differences of opinion increased, so that before long eighteen schools of schismatic thought were established.

The resulting controversies were very disturbing, and a third council became necessary. It consisted of a thousand of the oldest members of the order, and was held in the 17th or 18th year of Asoka's reign, that is, about B. C. 250. This third council was perhaps the most important, for through its deliberations the decision was arrived at to propagate Buddhism by missions. Hence missionaries supported by king Asoka were sent in all directions; the first being Mahindo (Mahendra), the king's son, who carried the

doctrine to Ceylon. He took with him a band of fellow missionaries; and soon afterwards, his sister, the princess Sanghamitta, who had entered the order, followed with a company of nuns. Of the details of the life of Asoka during these years we know little. His time seems to have been divided between the public functions of an enlightened sovereign anxious to promote the best interests of his subjects and the humbler duties of a disinterested and benevolent private citizen seeking the true good of his fellowmen. He himself says in one of his edicts :—"In past times kings went out for pastimes. Hunting, and other amusements of the kind are their pastimes here below. I, King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, obtained true intelligence ten years after my anointment. These, then, are my pastimes :—visits and gifts to Brahmans and Sramans, visits to aged men, the distribution of money, visits to the people of the empire, their religious instruction, and consultations on religious subjects. It is thus that the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, enjoys the pleasure derived from his virtuous acts."

As years rolled by, Asoka grew more and more meditative, till at last his contemplative tendencies, his anxiety to carry on his philosophic speculations unmolested, and his contempt of worldly comforts led him to renounce the mingled joys and sorrows of sovereignty and become an ascetic. Not long after he embraced asceticism, he passed away, having reigned well-nigh forty years, and having during all this time striven most faithfully and conscientiously to promote the material as well as the spiritual wellbeing of his subjects, according to the light he possessed and according to his best judgment.

The story of Asoka's life has been briefly told. It will have been seen that the materials we possess for a biographical sketch of Asoka are of the most meagre kind, and this is why our account of Asoka's career and doings has been so incomplete. The limits, however, of the Empire over which he ruled are sufficiently well defined. It embraced the whole of Northern India, and its vast extent is testified to by the wide range of Asoka's inscriptions. The royal residence was at Pataliputra at the confluence of the Ganges and the Sona. With the exception of the four towns of Pataliputra, Ujjayani, Takshasila, and Tosali, and of Sampi, Piyadasi mentions no name of any people or town expressly, as being among those that were directly under his rule. The only exception is Kalinga, the conquest of which he mentions as having taken place

in the ninth year after his coronation. The towns of Tosali and Sampi cannot be precisely indentified. It is, however, almost certain that Tosali, which formed the residence of a prince of the blood royal, must have been a considerable centre, possibly the capital of a whole province. Sampi was probably a town of secondary importance, and cannot have been very far from Jaugada, the site where the inscriptions which mention it were engraved. Besides thus directly governing such a vast empire, Asoka extended his influence, if not his full authority, to the central plateau of the Dekhan and even further to the south along the coasts. It has, moreover, been established that at least towards the west, the south-west, and the south, his kingdom was bordered by provinces over which he exercised a suzerainty which was certainly active and effectual but of which we cannot precisely measure the extent.

Of the populations which acknowledged the suzerainty of the king, there appear the Yavanas, the Kambhojas, the Petenikas, the Gandharas, the Rishtikas, the Visas or the Vrigis, and finally the Bhojas, the Andhras, and the Pulindas. The Gandharas and the Kambhojas certainly belonged to the tract of the river Cabul; it is probable that the Yavanas, subjects of a Hindu power, formed a province still further off in the direction of the Greeks of the independent kingdoms, and that the list, commencing with them and continuing through the Kambhojas and the Gandharas, follows a regular course from exterior to interior. The Rishtikas are the Maharashtras of the Dekhan. The territory of the Bhojas carries us either towards the Narmada or towards the coast of Konkana. The Petenikas have, with great ingenuity, been identified with the inhabitants of Paithana, that is, Pratisthana, towards the source of the Godavery. The Andhras continue the line of enumeration towards the east. The locality of the other people that have been enumerated has not been identified with any degree of certainty.

Regarding the system under which Asoka administered these vast dominions, the inscriptions are not very communicative. He describes his administration so far as it deals with religious and moral progress. It is merely in that direction that he would appear to have carried his personal reforms. Of the officers, religious and secular, of whom mention is made in the inscriptions, the *purushas* would seem to be the most comprehensive class under which Piyadasi included all the representatives of his authority, to whatever rank they belonged. He himself distinguishes them as superior,

inferior, and of middle rank. He desires that they should conform to his instructions and that they should direct the people along the path of rectitude. *Mahamatras* seem to have been functionaries of high rank. The *Mahamatras* in provinces were charged with the responsibility of conducting urgent matters. The *prativedikas* were spies through whom the king arranged to receive reports at all moments of the day. One great feature of Asoka's administration seems to have been that he replaced delay in the dispatch of work and in the issuing of customary instructions by quickness of dispatch and the timely issuing of all necessary orders. In one of his edicts he speaks to the following effect : "There never was in past times a system of dispatch of work and of hearing of reports at all moments. This is what I have done. At all moments, during meals, during repose, in the inner apartments, in the secret chamber, in my retreat, in the garden,—everywhere officers entrusted with information about the affairs of my people come to me and I dispatch the concerns relating to my people. I myself with my own mouth issue instructions which the ministers of religion impart to the people." He appears to have recognised that a sovereign cannot display too much activity in the administration of justice. "It is my duty," he says, "to procure by my instructions the good of the public; and in incessant activity and the proper administration of justice lies the root of public good, and nothing is more efficacious than this." By his example and by his incessant activity, he taught all the officers in the kingdom that the highest duty of a public functionary is the subordination of every private concern to the interests of the people committed to his care. Though in his edicts Asoka chiefly gives us an insight into his religious policy, it cannot be maintained that he at all neglected the political administration of his dominions. His reticence regarding matters of administration is to be attributed to the fact that in his edicts he wished simply to lay down practical rules of conduct for the guidance of his subjects and had no ambition to leave a full and glowing account of the events of his reign and his political system for the information of posterity.

From the internal policy of Asoka we turn to his relations with contemporary sovereigns, Indian as well as foreign. Among the independent Indian nations that Asoka mentions are the Cholas, the Pandyas, Satyaputa, and Keralaputa. The general situation of the Cholas and the Pandyas on the east coast and at the south extremity of the Dekhan, is sufficiently well-known. Satyaputa and

Keralaputa would appear to correspond in some way, on the west, with the Cholas and Pandyas on the eastern side of the Dekhan. In regard to his relations with these nations, Asoka says in his second edict :—" Everywhere in the kingdom of the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, and also of the nations who live in the frontiers such as the Cholas, the Pandyas, the realms of Satyaputa and Keralaputa, as far as Tambraparni and in the kingdom of Antiochus—and of the kings who are his neighbours—everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the gods, has provided medicines of two sorts—medicines for men and medicines for animals." The mention of Antiochus, king of Syria, in the second edict introduces us to what is, perhaps, the most interesting part of our inquiry. We cannot but receive the fact with agreeable surprise that in those early times Asoka should have formed relations with far-off kings for the purpose of providing medicines in their dominions and of preaching *Dharma* or the truth to their people. The relations between the kingdom of Magadha and the kingdom of Syria had indeed been traditional. Seleucus Nicator, who, after the death of Alexander the Great, seized the easternmost portion of his vast empire and founded the Seleucid dynasty, had entered into friendly relations with Chandragupta and stationed an ambassador at his court. Asoka strengthened these relations by sending Buddhist missionaries into the kingdom of Antiochus Theos II., the third Emperor of the Seleucid dynasty, who ruled from B.C. 261 to B.C. 246. Antiochus is said to have been a weak and effeminate prince who allowed his kingdom to be ruled by his wives and male favourites. Under him the decline of the Seleucid empire became rapid, and the weakness of his government tempted the provinces to rebel. It is not, therefore, too much to conclude that Antiochus may have acknowledged the superior power of Asoka. The other foreign sovereigns with whom Asoka formed alliances were Antigonus Gonatas of Macedonia (B.C. 278—242), Magas of Cyrene (died B.C. 258), Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt (B.C. 285 to 247), and Alexander of Epirus (died between B.C. 262 and 258). But for the reference to these sovereigns, about whose dates there is no uncertainty, it would not have been possible to fix even approximately the period of Asoka's reign. Of the last mentioned sovereigns, only Ptolemy Philadelphus (or Ptolemy II.) seems to have been a ruler of any consequence. We read of him that, as king of Egypt, he improved home administration, encouraged commerce, increased revenue, and patronised learning; and that he sent an ambassador

named Dionysius to India on a mission to the native princes. Whether among these native princes Asoka was one is more than we can say for certain. In all probability he was one.

We now come to study a feature of Asoka's character and career, more remarkable perhaps than any that we have yet studied and one on which his fame rests more than on anything else. He himself says:—"Previous kings and I myself have contributed to the happiness of men by various beneficial acts, but to make them *follow the path of religion*, it is with *this object*, that *I regulate my actions*." The scheme of Asoka's doctrine is expounded in the four noble truths, which are thus described by Prof. Rhys Davids:—"*First, the existence of pain*: to exist is to suffer. *Second, the cause of the pain*: the cause is to be found in the desire, which increases with the gratification. *Third, the cessation of pain*: this cessation is possible; it is obtained by the suppression of desire. *Fourth, the way which leads to this suppression*: this way, which comprehends four stages or successive states of perfection, is the knowledge and observance of the 'good law', the practice of the discipline of Buddhism and its admirable morality. The end of this is *Nirvana*, extinction, the cessation of existence."

Though this would appear to have been the general scheme of Asoka's doctrine, the religion that he actually taught was the universal religion of humanity, consisting in mercy, charity, truth, and purity of life. The fact seems to be that by the time of Asoka, the Buddhistic canon had not been finally settled. The Buddhism that prevailed in his time appears to have been, in the eloquent language of M. Senart, "a purely moral doctrine, paying little attention to particular dogmas or to abstract theories, little embarrassed with scholastic or monkish elements, having but little tendency to insist on the divergencies which separated it from neighbouring religions, ready to accept consecrated terms and forms when they did not offend its moral ideal, and as yet without texts fixed by writing or a regularly defined canon." Accordingly Asoka caused the kernel of Buddha's teaching to be preached, without emphasizing any of its particular or peculiar doctrines. To his credit and honour be it remembered that in spite of his partiality for Buddhism and in spite of the propaganda he organised for the spread of the Buddhistic faith, he treated other dogmas and other creeds with the highest respect, and that the active religious policy he inaugurated was not incompatible with toleration of the noblest type. Asoka recognised proselytism by peaceful means as a state duty. For the propaga-

tion of Buddhism, he created a new order of functionaries called the *Dharma Mahamatras* who were specially employed to foster morality and to disseminate religious truths. He also instituted a religious assemblage known as the *Anusamyana* to which all the faithful were invited and at which the *Rajjukas*—a species of officers with functions half secular and half religious—exercised their special mission of imparting instruction to the people. These Buddhist gatherings were held every five years, but this rule was not universal. A quinquennial *Anusamyana* was held in the provinces immediately under the Emperor, but in Ujjayani and Takshasila the celebration was held once every three years. The reason for the more frequent meeting of the *Anusamyana* in the latter places was that towards his west and south-west frontier the king wished to multiply occasions of meeting and instruction, these places not being under the direct control of the sovereign. In the year of the council, Asoka founded a State Department to watch over the purity, and to direct the spread, of the faith. A Minister of Justice and Religion directed its operations; and as one of its first duties was to proselytize, this Minister was charged with the welfare of the aborigines among whom his missionaries were sent. Asoka did not think it enough to convert the inferior races without looking after their material interests. Wells were to be dug, and trees planted, along the roads; a system of medical aid for man and beast was established throughout his kingdom and the conquered provinces, as far as Ceylon. Officers were appointed to watch over domestic life and public morality, and to promote instruction among the women as well as the youth.

From what Asoka and Constantine have respectively done for Buddhism and Christianity, a comparison has often been instituted between the two rulers. The comparison holds good in other respects than the one in which it must be most patent to all, *viz.*, that Constantine organized Christianity on the basis of a state religion and gave a fresh impulse to its spread, just as Asoka had nearly six centuries before him raised Buddhism to the dignity of a state religion and opened the way for its acceptance in all parts of India and by all classes of the people. In the time of each the prevailing religion was in an unsettled form, and in the reign of each a council had to be called together to settle the true doctrine; and but for the danger of reminding the reader of Fluellen's way of drawing parallels, we might even add that the conversion of each is ascribed to a miracle. Of course, the comparison can receive no

additional force from the coincidence of these circumstances, but there can be no doubt that in the progress of Christianity Constantine appeared at the epoch corresponding to that at which Asoka had figured in the progress of the Buddhistic faith. Apart, however, from the circumstance that Asoka did for Buddhism what Constantine afterwards effected for Christianity, there ought to be no comparison between the two. For, as Canon Taylor has observed, to compare Asoka with Constantine is to compare him with a man his inferior in every respect, intellectual, moral, and religious. Asoka, like Constantine, was no doubt a celebrated ruler of mankind, but, as has been well observed, the claims of Asoka to greatness rest less on the extent of his empire and of his prowess than on the liberal and catholic spirit which inspired his internal administration, his enlightened foreign policy, his fervent love of truth, and his insatiable desire to make it widely known. It is these nobler qualities, for which Asoka was so highly distinguished, that ought to make his fame "an echo and a light unto eternity."

There are many useful lessons to be learned from the life of Asoka which we may act up to with advantage. But as these will easily suggest themselves to all who study his career with any degree of attention, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them here. And in substance they have already been indicated. What, however, we need specially to remember is that all that we know about the later life of Asoka—from the time that he assumed the reins of government to the time that he relieved himself of the cares of sovereignty has been derived from the most unpromising materials, which in our own hands, would never have been turned to account. Scholars from the west, impelled by an insatiable thirst after true knowledge and authentic history began to examine these inscriptions from the time that they first caught their attention, and it is due to their enthusiastic ardour and unwearying perseverance that we are in possession of the facts recorded upon them. The immense labour and ingenious learning expended upon them have disclosed to us the invaluable and interesting truths that about the middle of the third century B.C. a sovereign of India had intercourse with contemporaneous monarchs in south-eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and Egypt, and that even then the Chola and Pandya dynasties wielded power in Southern India. They have, moreover, established the fact that in this very land to which we all belong and which has little to boast of now but its ancient greatness, there flourished, so early as the third century B.C., a monarch who brought the remotest

corners of India under one power, who reduced to subjection many of the states lying on the borders of India, who was actuated in all his actions by a burning love for mankind, who ministered to the material as well as the spiritual wants of his people, and who, not content with making his own subjects happy and benevolent, sent missionaries to foreign countries, and among the rest to that very country, where a few centuries afterwards Jesus Christ was to rise to preach some of the same doctrines as he had caused to be promulgated. What a gain it is to us that our western brethren have investigated all this for us! And now if we would keep up the literary reputation of our country and win the intellectual sympathy of the West, can we do better than, nay is it not absolutely necessary that we should, follow in their footsteps and work along the lines they have marked out for us?

P. NAGABHUSHANAM.

KAMALA: A STORY OF HINDU LIFE.

CHAPTER IX.

IT was a dark, primeval forest. The deep, solemn stillness was broken only by the constant falling of dead leaves, which, collected in heaps below, lay in some places to a depth of three or four feet. The leaves one by one rustled and fell with a perceptible thud through the length and breadth of the forest. The huge gigantic trees, covered with creepers, met overhead, their branches intertwining and forming a huge canopy, beneath which the sunlight rarely penetrated, the light of day paling into a soft greyish blue twilight. The forest lay on a high *plateau* among weird, bleak hills, which were unattractive even to birds and beasts. When the mists came curling up from the valleys or descended from the hills they wrapped the forest in their soft white fleecy arms and settled on the tree-tops, giving to the whole scene a dim shadowy appearance, as if it was a phantom forest waving in cloudland far far away. But when the cold winds rushed from the hill-tops they roared and crashed through the branches, and the noise of the awakened forest resembled that of the ocean when in its fury it breaks on some rock-bound coast.

Such was the forest of *Panabaras*, the abode of the far-famed sage, Aranyadaya, who was learned in all the old Vedic and Puranic

lore, and who was regarded by people, who had heard of his fame but had not seen him, as possessing the key to the healing art. The sage loved to have his abode here where he could gather rare herbs and enjoy the sanctity of seclusion. He had devoted his whole life to study and meditation and only a favoured few had the privilege of his personal acquaintance. Among these were Narayen, the *saniyasi*, and the young physician, Ramchander.

The *rishi* was seated on a mat under a huge tree a little away from his solitary hut and Ramchander was by his side. After some moments of silence he called out softly: "Ramchander!"

"Guru Raj!" said the young man, reverently, "Speak, I am listening."

"My days are nearly over, Ramchander, though it seems as if my friend Narayen will go before me. Have you grasped everything I have told you? Do you think you will be able to keep the torch of knowledge burning when we are gone?"

"I will try, my master, ignorant and unlearned as I am." Saying this, Ramchander, the young disciple, approached the sage so as to listen further to his instructions; but the mood for talking had passed away and the old man seemed absent. After some time Ramchander said: "I have bad news to tell you." But even this did not seem to have any effect on the old man. Then after a further interval Ramchander continued: "I have read all the *Charmapatrikas* (parchments) you asked me to read. I have found the serpentine root that is so rare. I have found it in the cliffs yonder, a solitary clinging herb. The plates, platters, and powders are ready." But all this was said in vain, for the great *rishi* was lost in thought. Nothing could awaken him from his dreamy reverie. He was evidently deep in thought, and he rose and walked as a blind man would, feeling for the trunks of trees and looking intently on the ground, as if trying to catch sounds unheard by other ears. The young man waited, for he knew his master's moods.

At last the sage turned sharply and grasping Ramchander's arm shook him in excitement and said in a hoarse whisper: "I have been hearing the sound of waters. There is a spring hidden here somewhere and I have been calling to mind the pages in the sacred book that refer to this spring. It is the famous spring of *Ashtarini* that we read of in the old books. Haste, search for it, lest I lose the sound again. Go straight on and turn to the left. There you will see a rock. Near by must be the rude image of *Vanadeva* covered over all these years with dead leaves. Feel with

this stick; close to the image must be the medicinal spring whose waters give health and life. It bubbles up and you must be careful to open its mouth and let the waters run out. Haste! something tells me that my friend Narayen sorely needs our aid."

"Yes, I came to tell you that he was lying in a deep faint."

"Well, be quick! Fetch the water and we shall go in."

Ramchander did as he was told. He found the bubbling spring. Then he and the old sage went to their primitive hut of leaves where they found Narayen lying on a mat. The music of the forest was heard around the hut in all its grandeur, but Narayen seemed to be unconscious of it. The *rishi* approached, felt his pulse, and waking him made him drink some water from the famous spring.

"You have sacrificed much, my friend, to gain knowledge and its power," said the *rishi* to Narayen, "and now you must not despair. What are your wishes?"

"My wishes?" said Narayen, in a soft whisper; "I have only one. I wish to pass away quietly in this great temple of leaves but my heart longs to see my girl. Then I should like to die peacefully."

"But, father," said Ramchander, "it is not possible to bring her here. Let me take you back to your old home in Anjinighur. You must not despair, you have drunk of the waters of healing and you shall not die yet."

Thus was Narayen, the *saniyasi*, brought over to Anjinighur, where his old home was, and Kamala was sent for. Since Kamala's marriage the old man had led a solitary life. He was absorbed chiefly in abstract thought. His mind was puzzled over many things. He felt the unreality of everything that appealed to the senses. All things were changing and yet there remained something eternal and unchangeable and that was God. But what was the sensible material universe? Was it an emblem of the deity? If so how could it partake of the nature of the changeable? Or was it a part of the deity? What were the *Shastras* for:—the endless ritual and symbol worship contained in them, if God was everywhere and in everything? Surely in human beings He was manifest. Such were some of the *saniyasi's* thoughts. He felt that he had no scope for such speculations except in solitude, apart from the world. There alone the highest emotions of his soul were called forth, there he felt the greatest exaltation of spirit, and there he heard the voice of God speaking to his soul direct. His one object was to become absorbed in the deity and to become one with Him, and for this he found it necessary to suppress all

the passions of the senses. He was very fond of the company of his *rishi* friend, Aranyadaya, and when any thought troubled him he went to the old sage for advice and counsel. Often Narayen would emerge from his solitude inspired with a mission and with enthusiasm expound to the people the real meaning of the *Shastras*. He would grow so eloquent and yet remain so practical in his eloquence that people wondered at the great knowledge of the world and of mankind that he possessed.

It is your old religion, he would say, the religion of your ancient *rishis* and sages. Leave it not, change it not for any other. God is God under whatever name you worship Him. You take His different attributes and erect temples as symbols of these different attributes and worship them separately. That is well; but He is not in the hills nor in the green waving trees, and yet He is there and everywhere. You hear His voice but you cannot see Him. He is a part of everything you see. Now He is chaste Rohini; now the protecting Bhagvani; now the guardian deity that sustains you. To the wicked He is a fierce demon, till proper propitiation is made in the way of sacrifices and the passions are subdued; but to higher natures is given the privilege of being absorbed in the deity. Do not care for pleasures, for pleasures are a delusion. Work out your salvation by deeds of merit and acts of charity. Thus Narayen would discourse, argue, and talk, now sitting on the steps of a temple, now on a river ghaut, and now in the grove of the *shastris*; and he was known and reverenced by all.

The intense love of the Indian for a life of solitude and meditation has been a puzzle to foreigners, who forget that a keen sensibility is one of the marked characteristics of the Hindu mind. The Hindu is subject to moments of depression and exaltation of spirits, and is deeply affected by intense spiritual cravings which are generally alien to men of other climes. He loves meditation because he finds a deep pleasure in it, and he hugs to himself the new found joys of the intellect, and would sacrifice anything to satisfy the longings of an awakened soul. He leaves the world and the petty worries of life because they come between him and his life of meditation, and he resorts to places where he can be free and enjoy to his heart's content the pleasures of the soul in the contemplation of all that is good and beautiful. He does not find it dull to live alone, for he enjoys pleasures of which more sensual men know nothing. His wants are few and easily satisfied, and his love of all that is beautiful in nature is great. The wind blows a cool, refresh-

ing breeze and he experiences the keenest pleasure from it. The clouds form on the hills, arrayed in gorgeous colours, and he looks at them, at the gaily decked flowers, at the milky cascades, at the warbling brooks, and at the merry birds, and feels he has companions in them all. The mountain goats, the cows and their calves, and the very crows gather round the recluse and in numerous delightful trusting ways proclaim him their friend; and they weary him not as human friends do. He leaves them when he chooses, changes his abode, or goes on a pilgrimage to sacred spots, always returning to his solitude when he is inclined. Others know nothing of the luxury of such a life.

When Narayen was brought to Anjinighur, Ramchander hastened to take the message to Kamala's husband and returned immediately. He was in the hut when Kamala entered, for he had nursed Narayen through the night. But Kamala saw him not, and as soon as she entered, Ramchander left the place. He stayed in the temple precincts that day, but he was unable to stay longer at Anjinighur, as important messages had come for him and for Narayen asking them to go at once to Sinhagud, and Narayen urged Ramchander to go and not to mind him. The young man had to pass over the ghauts through one of the important passes to get to Sinhagud where his mother was lying dangerously ill.

It was a weird mountain scene that he witnessed as the path led him down through rugged ravines on the side of a precipitous hill. Lower down, the tangled branches met overhead and huge rocks stood perpendicularly on each side. Streams gushed forth at various points, their noise filling the whole valley. Ramchander, who was on horseback, went slowly, the sure-footed animal guiding him cautiously over rocks and stones. The mid-day heat was great, and once an uncanny sensation crept over him as he thought he saw, in a dark grove close by, a hideous red image of Kali, and two eyes, bright like living coals, peering at him from behind. But the feeling vanished as he left the spot. The animal stopped to drink by the way, and Ramchander looked around when he reached the deep valley. It was a scene of great beauty. Huge tree ferns, hill plantains, and rushing brooks appeared on all sides, and light-leaved trees shed their yellow bloom on all. "Oh! who would think that this place, where everything looks so lovely, is the dreaded Sadashiva Dholl, in which robberies and murders have been committed? The stones tell no tales." So thought Ramchander as he looked around. A huge mountain now rose on

either side, and a ledge of rock projected from one of them right overhead. "What a nice place to sit and dream. Yes, it has all been dreaming with me. I could never go through the devotions like the others. The lovely light on the hills, the birds, the gurgling rills all have distracted my attention, and when the clouds have come rolling down like feathery fleeces, covering all up in their soft white arms I have walked up the mountain heights to see the effect on the valley below; and the flashing lightning and the rolling thunder have made me dance with joy. In my exultation I have cried to God—the great God—and my utmost soul I have poured forth in His praise." With such thoughts in his mind Ramchander passed through the narrow defile and entered a broad smiling valley; and as the mountains receded, his horse gave a neigh of pleasure. Just then a figure on horseback emerged from the hills, and it came alongside of him from behind. It made him start, but when he found that the rider was a woman he smiled at his fears. The woman was sitting astride a small pony. She was small built, thin and wiry, and wonderfully bright in appearance. Her dark eyes sparkled with intelligence and her small oval face was eagerly turned towards the passer. There was a grace and tact in her movements as she directed her pony over rough stones and steep places. She had not what one would call a fair colour, but she looked striking in her purple, heavy-laced *saree* and light brown complexion.

"We are well out of it, are we not?" she said, coming alongside of Ramchander. But he said not a word, only gave her a look. "My attendants are behind and they will be breathless with running, for they did not expect me to go so fast," she said.

Ramchander smiled at her eagerness to make him talk. He had seen her before, but he feigned not to know her and said: "Have you far to go?"

"Just to yonder village. But the sun is high and I need not fear. You will guide me. There is another dark pass yet to go through. I think I saw you in Sivagunga, but you change your garb so; nobody can make you out."

"How do you know that?" asked Ramchander, looking at her curiously.

"Leave Sai not to know anything."

"And you are Sai?"

"Yes. Who did you think I was?" said she, with a loud laugh. "Nothing is kept secret from me. I know you better than you

imagine, and you are in my power just now, but don't fear. Sai does no harm to those she likes."

"And those were your *Bheels* that I saw watching me yonder from over these rocks?"

"Hush! don't tell anyone. I like to be open with those who are my friends."

"And, pray, tell me who I am?"

"You are Ramchander Rao, the nephew of Narayen, the *saniyasi*," she said, watching his face minutely. He gave a slight start, at which she laughed and said: "You thought you could hide that. And Kamalabai our great beauty was once betrothed to you, was she not?" At this Ramchander visibly changed. He threw off his reserve and turning to her said in a frank, jovial way: "I won't tell you how far you are right, but we can keep secrets, can't we? you mine and I yours." "All right," she said, laughing, "that is our first compact. And now you promise to pay a visit to our village. There is a nice *dharmashala* (a place for travellers) where you will be comfortable, and I will see that your men are all provided for." She knew she had gained a victory and that through Kamala. Her woman's instinct told her that there was more to follow; and hazarding a guess, she asked: "Were you not at Dudhasthal?"

"I may or may not have been," he said evasively, but laughed as he looked into her eyes, for evidently she was feeling his mind.

"And you are still sweet on the girl. You have not yet forgiven her marriage which the old dotard her father stupidly hurried through," she said sarcastically, glad to find confirmation now of every guess of hers in the slight changes that she saw in his face and behaviour.

At her last words Ramchander laughed, though she expected him to be angry. "What a woman you are!" he said, after the hearty laugh which had taken her aback. "Don't you know when once married she is out of one's reach? I wish her well and not for the whole world would I wish her happiness to be marred. I don't like your talking in this light fashion about another man's wife. She knows not our relationship."

"And yet she walks with you," said Sai with a loud laugh, meant to conceal her anxiety, for this was a bold guess founded on the first. She fancied she had seen Ramchander or somebody like him, from a distance, guiding Kamala through the crowd at Dudhasthal, and she watched him minutely now, to see whether she was right. The words startled him not a little and the laugh sounded coarse in

Ramchander's ears. He felt as if he had received a rough slap, and he bit his lips and repented of having opened his mind and given her reason to talk so. He looked at her absently for a minute, however, before speaking, and said quite calmly: "You know the whole relationship now, but you are to keep it to yourself. Kamala is quite innocent, and after her father I am her gaurdian." What Sai's long tongue would do he knew not, and he was frightened. Never did the little incident at Dudhasthal appear so serious in his eyes as on that occasion.

"Oh, is it so?" said Sai, trying to speak quite indifferently. She had seen the change and had said to herself: "He won't stop in my village even after my asking him to do so, but Kamala is in my hands now. I see my way clearly." Then after a pause she said to Ramchander loudly; "Come, Rao Saheb, don't be displeased, halt in our village. I have nothing to say against the poor dear soul, I only happen to know some of her relations and thought I saw her at Dudhasthal, where I went to learn some *ragas*, for there were great and learned musicians expected there, and the three great *ragas* (famed classical pieces of music) were to be played, and we women have to live by our art. I take care to improve myself on all occasions."

Ramchander listened to Sai's humble confessions, and was more puzzled than before. After all he decided to stay in the village and not give offence, for he felt he was somehow in her power.

Kamala's going to her father's house was the subject of a great deal of gossip and speculation on the part of her friends at Sivaganga. Four or five women were sitting together in an inside room opening into the inner quadrangle of Bhagirathi's house. Before them was the betel leaf tray, which also contained the favourite jessamine flowers woven into garlands. On another plate were placed the sandal paste and attar oil in silver vessels. The women were seated on mats and were chewing betel nut. The widows, with their *sarees* covering their shaven heads, stood near by, some leaning on the walls and others holding on to half open doors. They did not do much of the talking, though they smiled and now and then put in some pithy remarks. One old widow, however, demanded much attention as she sat a little away from the others reclining on a long cushion.

"How strange," said one of the married women, "that the *shastri's* door is now quite shut to the street and nobody seems to go in and out."

"Perhaps they have all gone somewhere," said a fair fat woman with her mouth full of betel nut. "I hate that woman Ramabai," she said, "she was going to Gungi's new home in Rampur, and then afterwards to her own home."

"Oh how I dislike her, too," said a dark brown one, dressed in a handsome gold-laced cloth, lifting her heavy bracelets up and pulling her rich gold cloth over her shoulders with a gesture of disdain. "She sets herself up for a rich woman when I know she has only two good *sarees* to her back; and it is shameful the way in which she treated that poor ignorant girl Kamala. The servant says that the girl had not even enough to eat, though of course she would never complain."

"The poor guileless one," said one of the widows, taking up the strain, "the other day when I questioned Kamala on the river bank she avoided me and said, 'Oh, they are all kind,' and when she gets a beating I can see it by the pained look in her eyes, and yet she would say it was all her fault, that she did not know her work."

"Not know her work?" said the woman near the cushion, who was Bhagirathi's mother-in-law. "She works like a bullock, I have been told. I wish I had a daughter-in-law like that, instead of the firebrand that I possess."

"Why? Did you hear of Ganeshpunt?" said a married woman rather abruptly. "I hear that he is more and more to be seen in Sai's quarter."

"It is a shame," said an old lady who was distributing the betel leaves and flowers, and who was no other than Rukhma's mother-in-law. "I hear it is all their doing, getting the woman to come to their parties and even planning the meetings. People have eyes as well as ears. Poor Kamala! She is away now; and it is a good thing for her too. She will have to bend her neck and toil more and more hereafter in her father-in-law's house. I don't think her husband would care to take her away just now, seeing that the attraction is so strong elsewhere."

"No, the arrangement is that she is to stay with her father-in-law till the birth of her child. Of course it will be said that she is too young and inexperienced to go back with her husband just now, for, if she goes, she will have a time of it, I am sure, with Sai's attractions and the other girl they think of proposing for Ganeshpunt," said a widow with a sigh, and then added, "I pity her, poor girl; and she has not gone through the fifth month ceremony yet."

"This is the way they destroy our happiness," said Bhagirathi, bursting in; and when she saw the large company of women ashamed at her boldness, she slid back to the door way.

"I knew she would come out like this," said her mother-in-law grimly. "The girl has no manners and is getting worse and worse." Bhagirathi threw the twists of wet clothes down in the open quadrangle, and, making her vessel ring on the stone floor, left the room with a bounce. The jingle of her anklets was distinctly heard as she walked hastily out.

Rukhma's mother-in-law now rose to go. Just then Kamala's mother-in-law entered and was welcomed by all. Bhagirathi's mother-in-law took her by the hand and led her to a seat near herself. "The goddess Lakshmi has smiled in this direction, I see." "Which side has the sun risen to-day." "What good fortune brings you here?" Such were the remarks made on all sides. Then they began to ask the new-comer about Kamala. "She is with her father," said the old lady, curtly, "and we leave it to her husband to bring her or not as he likes. As for me I am fairly tired of that girl. She causes much disturbance when here. What with her mad fits of learning and her husband's foolishness, I really wish that she was not returning at all. Such a responsibility, too, and not at all like the other girls. She knows no work to be in any way useful, and when scolded she says that everything is her fault and that she will do better, instead of like the other girls taking it calmly or even sulkily. You know girls need scolding now and then, and sometimes one cannot help scolding them."

"Yes," said the fat woman, with a broad smile, "I know what you mean. As the old saying goes, 'The oil of the fried cakes is poured on the brinjals,' and the girl does not know this. Ha! Ha! Ha! So she is to stay at her father's till Ganeshpunt goes to fetch her?"

"And he will not be in a hurry to go, I suppose?" said Bhagirathi's mother-in-law.

"Did you hear about Bheema throwing herself into the well this morning?" said Kamala's mother-in-law, turning the conversation. "What a hubbub there was to be sure! I have just returned from the house. Rukhma has taken Bheema to her own home to shield her from the beating."

"What a foolish girl to do such a thing," exclamed all in unison.

"The old woman, Bheema's mother-in-law, is very angry," continued Kamala's mother-in-law. "She wanted some of Bheema's

jewels—the chain necklace I think—and coaxed her son to use his influence with his wife to get them. The weak-minded man—how foolish of him to listen to his mother, for the jewels were not really his. He used rough words, I am told, when Bheema refused to give them, and they had such a quarrel; and before her husband left the house Bheema went quietly to the backyard and threw herself into the well."

"Ah, how shocking!" said the old woman who was leaning on the pillow. "The mother of the man was stingy and cunning, and she must have pretended that there was no money in the house and induced her son to take from the girl the jewels. They say that the husband is very sorry, and they have hushed up the affair. But the girl had a narrow escape, and would have been drowned had it not been for our gardener."

Blame not the poor Indian woman for her love of jewellery. She strives and toils hard to put by a few rupees out of the money allotted to her by her husband for home expenses, and invests them in jewels. She knows well that they are the only things that will not be taken away from her at her husband's death or when any trouble or calamity overtakes the family. The jewels are hers whatever may happen to the other property. She sees her future independence in them, or at least has the consolation that she will have something to fall back upon in times of distress. It is a hard wrench when she is obliged to part with any one of them. Life is not so dear as these jewels are, for what is the use of living, she argues within herself, to be trampled on by others and to slave for others. Such feelings are purely Hindu, and are the outcome of wrongs committed for generations on the poor unprotected Hindu woman.

KRUPA SATTHIANADHAN.

THE BRAHMAN SETTLEMENT IN MALABAR AND SOUTH INDIA:—I.

THE question as to when the advent of the Brahmans and of Brahmanism into Malabar took place is a much debated one. A theory has been recently advanced to the effect that the Nambutiris settled in Malabar at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. I propose in this paper to deal with the arguments which have been adduced in support of this

theory, and to discuss generally the date of the Brahman settlement in Malabar or Kerala.

It is supposed by many that the earliest home of the Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock, from which the Brahman, the Rajput, and the Englishman derive their common descent is Central Asia. From this common camping ground different branches of the Aryan race radiated towards various centres, some towards the east and some towards the west. Speaking of this dispersion of the Aryans from their original home, Sir Monier Williams says:—"Starting at a later period than the primitive Turanian races, but like them, from some part of the table-land of Central Asia—probably the region surrounding the sources of the Oxus near Bokhara—they separated into distinct nationalities and peopled Europe, Persia, and India. The Hindu Aryans after detaching themselves from the general body of emigrants, settled themselves down as agriculturalists (probably at some period between 2000 and 1500 B.C.) in the districts surrounding the Indus, the five rivers of the Punjab, and the sacred Saraswati, these seven rivers being called *Sapta Sindhu*. Thence after a time, they overran by successive irruptions the plains of the Ganges and spread themselves over the region called Aryavarta occupying the whole of Central India, and either coalescing with, and so to speak Aryanising the primitive inhabitants they found there, or driving all who resisted them to the south and to the hills."[1]

From Aryavarta successive batches of colonists seem to have marched southwards and settled in the Dekhan as far south as the banks of the Godavery and the Krishna. The first colony of Brahmans is said to have been led to the southern extremity of the Peninsula by Agastya, a *rishi*, the father of Tamil literature, soon after Rama's conquest of Ceylon; and the event, assuming it to have been more or less contemporaneous with the foundation of the aboriginal dynasties of Pandya and Chola, may be taken to have occurred about five or six centuries B.C.[2] The great epic of the *Ramayana* is itself supposed to be a narrative of the advance of the Aryans into Southern India, and we know the reference it contains to Parasu Rama, the reputed founder of Kerala, who really was the leader of a great Brahman colony to the south.

Mr. W. Logan in his *Manual of the Malabar District* discusses

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[1] *Hinduism*, p. 3.

[2] *Manual of the Tanjore District*, p. 164.

the question at some length, and comes to the conclusion that the Vedic Brahmans must have arrived in Malabar in the early years of the eighth century A.D., and that they must have come by way of the coast from the Tulu country (South Canara).[3] He is almost certain that the Vedic Brahmans proper had not migrated to the south in 605 A.D.[4] The following facts, which I propose to examine in detail, are adduced as conclusive proof of this theory:—

(1) It is certain that when Hiuen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited Southern India east of the Ghauts, in A.D. 629-45, he either found no Vedic Brahmans at all, or they were in such numbers and influence as not to deserve mention. The naked heretics whom he met in large numbers were, as Dr. Burnell was the first to point out, *Digambara Jains, that is, adherents of the* 24th Tirthamkar.

(2) The settlement deed of the Jews at Cranganore is not attested by the Brahman hierarchy, while they have attested the Syrian deed. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the Brahman hierarchy had in the interval between *the dates of these two* deeds acquired the power and influence which has never since deserted them. If this reasoning is correct the rise of Vedic Brahmanism on the Malabar coast cannot be placed earlier than the latter half of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century and not later than 774 A.D.

(3) There are two traditional accounts other than Malayali preserved in the Mackenzie MSS. "The Canarese account, taken from the *Sthalamahatmya* of Banavasi, relates *how one* Mayura Vurma, a Kadamba king of Banavasi, impressed with reverence for a Brahman who refused to eat in a country where no Brahmans were settled, established this man in his capital. Mayura Vurma's son, called Chandrangatan, it is *said*, called in a large colony of Brahmans and located them in Kerala, in Tuluva, Haigiri, Concana, and Corada. The Kerala Brahmans are said to use Malayalam. *It was after this*, so it is further said, that Parasu Rama came to the country, *bringing with him* sixty-four *families*, among whom he established his own Vaidika (ascetical) system."

"The Mahratta account states that Parasu Rama turned the *Boyijati* (fisherman caste) into Brahmans in order to people Keralam. They were to summon him from Gokarnam, whither he had retired,

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[3] *Malabar*, Vol. i. p. 275.
[4] *Ibid.* Vol. i. p. 261.

if they had any cause for sorrow or regret. They summoned him unnecessarily, and he cursed them and 'condemned them to lose the power of assembling together in council, and to become servile. They accordingly mingled with Sudra females and became a degraded race.' 'About this time one Mayura Vurma considering these Brahmans to be contemptible, sent for others from Hai-Kshetram and located them in different places in his dominions.' Mayura Vurma was a Kadamba king, and was 'selected,' so the tradition runs, to rule over 'Kerala and Caurashtaka Desam.'"

It is asserted that the Chinese traveller Hiuen Thsang did not notice the existence of Brahmans in Southern India to the east of the Ghauts, and the argument is that it is improbable that if they had settled on the West Coast he would have overlooked their existence. But if, as Mr. Logan himself asserts,[5] Hiuen Thsang did not visit the Malabar Coast, it is not at all surprising that he makes no mention of the Brahmans of the West Coast. It is, however, scarcely correct to say that Hiuen Thsang did not visit the Malabar Coast and that he has overlooked the existence of Brahmans there. For it is certain that from Dravida he proceeded to a country which he calls *mo-lo-kinch'a*. "The first half of the name *mo-lo-kinch'a* is," says Dr. Hultzsch, "no doubt the well-known Dravidian word *mala* a hill (Mala in Malayalam) and the second may be connected with *kurram*, which means a division, or more probably with *kōttam*, which means a district in Tamil inscriptions. Thus mo-lo-kin-ch'a, or Malakotta, would be a synonym of Malanadu or Malai-nadu—the 'hill country'. But as Hiuen Thsang places Malakôtta to the south of Drāvida and attributes to it a circuit of 5000 *li*, General Cunningham (*Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. i. p. 549) is doubtless right in supposing that it must have included, besides Malabar, the whole southern part of the Madras Presidency beyond the Kaveri."([6]) The Chinese traveller has noticed the fact that sandalwood and a camphor-bearing tree (cinnamon) grew on the mountains of Malaya. In Sanskrit and Malayalam the term Malaya is applied to the western Ghauts, and the sandal is called *malayajá*, that is, 'the produce of Malaya'. Hiuen Thsang places the capital of Malakôtta 3000 *li* to the south of Kanchipura. Though General

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[5] *Malabar*, Vol. i. p. 262.

[6] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. viii. p. 239.

Cunningham has pointed out (*Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. i. p. 569) that this distance would take us out to sea beyond Cape Comorin, yet Mr. Beal identifies Chimo-la, which the Chinese editor of Hiuen Thsang remarks in a note is another name for Malakôtta, with the Tamil Kumari, that is, Cape Comorin. In the Chino-Japanese map of India the alternative name of Malayakuta is Hai-an-men (*Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. i. p. 552), which no doubt suggests a connection with Ptolemy's country of the Aiöi. Professor Wilson points out that Aiöi many stand for the Sanskrit *Ahi*-a serpent, the reference embodying the local tradition mentioned in the *Keralolpathi* of the serpents driving the Brahmans out of Kerala.

In noticing the travels of the Chinese pilgrim Mr. Talboys Wheeler observes:—"Hiuen Thsang had proceeded to Conjeeveram along the Eastern Coast. In his return route he crossed the Peninsula to the Western Coast, known as the Malabar side ; and then turned towards the north through Travancore and Malabar. Here he found the people illiterate, and devoted to nothing but gain. Most of the monasteries were in ruins, but there were hundreds of flourishing temples and the usual swarms of naked heretics."[7] According to Sir William Hunter Hiuen Thsang travelled from the Punjab to the mouth of the Ganges and made journeys to Southern India. Everywhere he found the two religions, Brahmanism and Buddhism, mingled. "On the Madras coast Buddhism flourished, and indeed throughout Southern India the faith still seems to have been in the ascendant although struggling against Brahman heretics and their gods."[8] It is true that the late Dr. Burnell was of opinion that the 'Nigganthas' or 'Nigranthas' mentioned by Hiuen Thsang were not Brahmans but Digambarà Jains, that is, adherents of the 24th Thirthamkar. This view he based on the fact that Nigganthas are "continually used to denote Jains" in the *Attihapalmdaka Gatha*. But he himself confesses that he has no information as to the age of this work.[9] On the other hand these 'naked heretics', or Nigranthas, are generally supposed by eminent scholars to have been naked mendicant Brahmans.[10] "The

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[7] *History of India*, Vol. iii.

[8] *The Indian Empire*, p. 154.

[9] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. i. 309

[10] Böthlingk and Roth, St. Petersburg Dy. s. v. ; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 692, iv. 233.

Chinese pilgrim to India in 640 A.D.," says Sir William Hunter, "relates how the Brahmans, or, as he calls them, heretics, were again establishing their power. The Buddhist monasteries had even at that time a struggle to hold their own against Brahman temples." Again, "the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang gives a full account of the court and people of Vallabhi (630-640). Buddhism was the state religion, but heretics (*i.e.* Brahmans) abounded."[11] The ruined state of the Buddhist monasteries and the flourishing condition of Brahman temples must have produced in him a strong impression. There is indeed some significance in his calling the Malabar Brahmans 'naked heretics', for the Namburis are notoriously a scantily clothed race. They were 'heretics' to the Buddhist pilgrim, for they were the irrepressible enemies of his own faith. It was one of their class, the renowned Vedantist, Sankaracharya, who drove Buddhism finally out of India. It was perhaps to their influence, that Hiuen Thsang ascribed the ruined condition of the Buddhist monasteries. Surely he must have found Buddhism fast losing ground and Brahmanism once more gaining its former prestige and position.

We next come to the argument that because the Jewish deed was not attested by the Brahmanical hierarchy, while they have attested the Syrian deed, it is reasonable to conclude that they had in the interval between the dates of these two deeds come to Malabar. This can scarcely be called a valid argument. For the Jewish deed does not profess to be attested by *all* the important communities then inhabiting Malabar. The Syrian Christian community, which had already settled at Cranganore so early as A.D. 52, and attained an enviable pre-eminence, is conspicuous by its absence among the roll of witnesses.[12] Again the Tyers, Eluvers, or Islanders, who had "certainly settled in the country at the time when the Jews' and Christians' deeds of privileges were granted (A.D. 700 to 825),"[13] do not find a place among the witnesses in the Jewish deed, though they are referred to and their privileges, the 'foot-rope right' and the 'ladder right,' not to speak of the

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[11] *History of the Indian People,* pp. 83-85. See also *The Indian Empire,* pp. 154. 169, 171.

[12] I am not unaware of the fact that Mr. Logan and other authorities have disputed the apostleship of St. Thomas to India and the early settlement of Christians in Malabar. But see the question discussed in Dr. Kennet's *St. Thomas the Apostle of India,* 2nd edition, 1892.

[13] *Malabar,* Vol. i. p. 257.

Varakol share-staff', specifically mentioned in a deed of a later date, to wit the second of the Syrian deeds (about A.D. 824). But Mr. Logan himself admits that "the Islanders (Tyers) must have been settled in the country before the middle of the sixth century A.D."[14] It may therefore be reasonably maintained that the non-attestation of the Jewish deed by the Brahman community does not prove its non-existence in Malabar at the date of that deed.

The Canarese and Mahratta traditions now remain to be noticed. The former attributes the introduction of Brahmans into Malabar to Mayura Vurma, King of Banavasi, and to his son Chandragupta or Chandrangada. It then adds that it was *after this* that Parasu Rama came to Malabar with his 64 families of Brahmans. Admittedly both the Canarese and the Mahratta accounts are founded on tradition, and when we find them in glaring contradiction to the traditional accounts extant in Malabar we have to decide between the relative value of traditions. Now let us try to see which tradition is supported by historical facts. Who, then, was this Mayura Vurma, and at what period did he flourish? Dr. Gundert informs us that he was a King of North Malabar who introduced Brahmans into Tuluva.[15] He does not say that Mayura Vurma introduced them into Kerala. Tuluva is the country extending from Gokarnam to the Perumpulay river five miles north by east of Mount D'Ely, comprising the Canaras (North and South) very nearly as at present defined. It formed one of the four divisions into which Malanad or the 'hill-country' was divided. Kerala was another division extending from Pudupattanam to Kannatti, that is, South Malabar, including the Kurumbarnad Taluq, the Cochin State, and North Travancore. Though Tuluva was a part of Kerala, as it originally stood, it does not follow that because Mayura Vurma introduced Brahmans into a part of the country over which he ruled he must have been the *first* to introduce them into Malabar as a whole, or into every part of it. According to Mr. Sewell Mayura Vurma was the Kadamba king of Banavasi who introduced Brahmans into *his* kingdom from the North.[16] Mr. Logan fixes the date of Mayura Vurma's accession in the last

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14. "It is not at all improbable that *Tryans* had arrived in Malabar before the time of Kosmas Indikopleustes" (A.D. 522-547). *Malabar*, Vol. i. p. 143.

Dr. Gundert's *English-Malayalam Dictionary*.

A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India, p. 40.

years of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century A.D. This would certainly synchronise with the alleged date of the advent of Vedic Brahmans into Malabar. But this date is arrived at by calculating back from the date of Tailapa, who is said to have reigned from A.D. 1077 to 1108 through the sixteen generations that had elapsed between Mayura Vurma's time and Tailapa's, and allowing for each twenty-four years, which is considered to be a fair average reign for Indian kings. This, it must be admitted, is a somewhat arbitrary calculation. Now in the genealogical list of Kadamba kings contained in Mr. Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India* no particular date is assigned to Tailapa, and what is more, the period assigned to Krittivarma II., with whom, as Mr. Fleet observes, we reach historical ground, is A.D. 1068-1076-7. Taila I., or Tailapa, preceded Krittivarmma II. It is also noteworthy that Mr. Fleet points out that a number of Rashtrakuta inscriptions show that at any rate up to 947 A.D. a family of Mahamandaleswaras of a different name preceded the Kadambas in the government of Banavasi. The Canarese tradition adds that it was *after* Mayura Vurma that Parasu Rama came to Malabar with his 64 families of Brahmans. This would make Parasu Rama live somewhere about the eighth century A.D. But there are references to him in the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, and accepting the criticisms of such eminent Oriental scholars as Weber and Lassen we may say that these two great epics were composed at the latest in the first century A.D., though references to the *Mahabharata* in Panini (about B.C. 350) would indicate its existence at a much earlier date. It is impossible, therefore, that Parasu Ráma, who must have lived at a period long anterior to the composing of the epics should have come to Malabar after Mayura Vurma, who is said to have flourished in the latter part of the seventh or the early part of the eighth century A.D.

For aught we know Mayura Vurma may have brought with him a colony of Brahmans for settlement in his country of Kuntala. An inscription translated and commented upon by Fleet in the *Indian Antiquary* refers to this fact. It reads thus: "He (Mayura Vurma) performed the sacrifice called Asvamedah, and having himself brought eighteen Brahmans in succession from Ahichathra and having established them in the radiant country of Kuntala and having acquired prowess Mayura Vurma was resplendent in the government of the earth." From this it is evident that Mayura Vurma established his Brahman colony, not in Malabar but in

Kuntala, which has been identified with Kolattoor in the extreme north-west of Mysore.[17] Eighteen Brahmans are said to have been brought from Ahichathra. This may mean either that Mayura Vurma brought eighteen families, or that he brought eighteen successive colonies. There is, however, another account of his having brought colonies of Brahmans recorded by Fleet in his comments on the inscription above quoted. He says: "But at the same time it is worthy of remark that there is another tradition that Mayura Vurma I. not simply introduced but brought with him twelve thousand Brahmans of thirty-two families purified by performing Agnihothra sacrifice, from the Agrahara of Ahichathra, and established them in the Agrahara of Sthanugudhapura or Tanagundur, the modern Talgund, or Talgundi, in Mysore."[18] The assertion of the Banavasi *Sthalamahatmyam* is not therefore without some truth, but it must have evidently gone astray in recording that Mayura Vurma located his colonies in Malabar.

The Mahratta account is still more curious. It says that Parasu Rama turned fishermen into Brahmans in order to people his land of Keralam. That the tradition is not altogether foreign to Malabar appears from Jacob Canter Visscher's *Letters from Malabar*.[19] Unlike the Canarese tradition the Mahratta account attributes the peopling of Kerala with Brahmans to Parasu Rama. In this it agrees with the Malabar tradition. It however says that Parasu Rama's Brahmans were a degraded class and consequently Mayura Vurma, the Kadamba king, had to indent for a purer set from elsewhere. This no doubt gets over the anachronism regarding the period of Parasu Rama, but it at the same time acknowledges the existence of Brahmans in Malabar long before Mayura Vurma brought his colony.

K. P. PADMANABHA MENON.

LITERARY NOTICES.

Ernest Renan: In Memoriam. By the Right Honourable Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, G.C.S.I., F.R.S. London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.

THERE is something attractive about almost everything that Sir M. E. Grant Duff writes. His wide knowledge and his deep interest in all

[17] & [18] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. x. pp. 250, 288.
[19] Page 10. See also Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. i. p. 254.

departments of modern thought, his intimate acquaintance with distinguished men and his consequent fund of anecedote, combined as they are with the possession of an easy and graceful style, make him an exceptionally pleasant author to read. Unfortunately certain other characteristics are at times rather unpleasantly prominent and detract from the charm. One likes to move with Sir M. E. Grant Duff in the intellectual society of distinguished men, but one shrinks from the tone of superiority that such intercourse seems to engender, and one feels at times that somewhat trivial thoughts and incidents become unduly important simply because they form part of the experience of Sir M. E. Grant Duff.

It would not be strictly true to say that the work before us is free from the peculiarities we have referred to, but they are much less out of place here than elsewhere, for it professes merely to contain the impressions about Ernest Renan and his work which Sir M. E. Grant Duff holds in common with some of his friends. It is not, and does not profess to be a biography of the famous Frenchman. His life is briefly sketched, but the idea of the work is seen from the opening paragraph, which contains an account of the introduction of Sir M. E. Grant Duff to M. Renan by Prince Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein. The acquaintanceship thus begun ripened into friendship, and for more than thirty years Sir M. E. Grant Duff was in constant communication with M. Renan. The details of their intercourse preserved in this volume are exceedingly interesting, and enable one in some measure to understand the fascination that Renan had for those who knew him, while the letters that are given show the charm of style for which he was as famous.

The interest of this volume, however, is mainly theological, for by far the greater portion of it is occupied with a review of Renan's writings. Sir M. E. Grant Duff is somewhat guarded in expressing his concurrence or his disagreement with the positions that Renan adopts, but it is not difficult to see which way the current of his sympathies runs. This he shows at the commencement of his work when at the outset he warns off his pages two very dissimilar classes of readers.

"They would," he says, "have no interest whatever for those to whom the holding of certain dogmas is the *sine quâ non* of religion; and they would be utterly barren to those who consider that all religions belong to a byegone phase of human history, or that to occupy ourselves with them is to lose our time. I believe that, if human nature remains what we know by human nature, religion is indestructible, and that *that* religion will rally round it the most distinguished company of adherents which (while assiduously cultivating all the poetry and all the art fostered in the past by the higher forms of *Christianity, and adhering strictly to the ideal of Christian* life put before themselves by its best representatives, not in the cloister but

in the world), shall frankly admit that it is impossible to control the human intellect by creeds or articles of any sort or kind."

About half of the whole volume is devoted to an analysis of Renan's two most important works, the *Origines du Christianisme*, and the *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël.* The first of these is a history of Christianity during the first two centuries A.D. Renan, Sir M. E. Grant Duff says, "had no wish to prove or disprove anything." He merely wished to tell people how that bit of history looked to him. To the first volume of the *Origines*, the *Vie de Jésus*, by which the name of Renan is known to most people, Sir M. E. Grant Duff devotes but little space, and rightly, for whatever beauties of style it may possess, as a life of Christ it is, to say the least, utterly inadequate. Still Renan had keener insight than some famous German contemporaries of his who virtually made Paul the founder of Christianity, for he saw that the first and chief cause of the triumph of Christianity was "the unique personality of Jesus, the magic by which he attached his immediate followers to him, so that the circle went on widening and widening from decade to decade."

The analysis of the *Histoire du Peuple d'Israël* is a good piece of work, but it does not show that Renan had anything very fresh to say about the history of Israel. There is but little in it that has not been said by English and German critics, though, as some one has remarked, it has had the effect of bringing the Bible to the notice of the Parisian public. It also appears, like the *Origines*, to have been written without the desire to prove anything. The principle followed in both books seems to be to accept as conclusively proved all the results of the most advanced Biblical critics and to weave them into a connected history. The books produced by this method are naturally very readable, and even persuasive if one does not stop to think. It may be doubted, however, whether they are real contributions to theological or any other science, and perhaps M. Renan did not mean that they should be. In spite of what Sir M. E. Grant Duff says about M. Renan's devotion to scientific truth one feels that he was more of an artist than anything else, and that in his opinion the artistic description of how events may have happened was more valuable than a minute inquiry into how events *did* happen. This attitude of mind perhaps explains the absence of the dogmatism that so often disfigures the pages of German critics. M. Renan does not brand those who do not agree with him as fools, still less does he regard them as morally depraved because they attack him. His opponents' way of reading history may after all be right though he does not think so.

While Sir M. E. Grant Duff evidently sympathises with Renan in his critical views, though he seldom expressly adopts them as his own, he refuses to accept as authoritative his philosophical speculations. In fact he says little about them, and hardly even mentions what they are.

The wisest and best, he thinks, lose their way the moment they enter the labyrinth of metaphysics, and Renan there is no better a guide than anyone else.

"What, however," he goes on to say, "is quite impossible to our reasoning faculties is easy, is done every day, by what we may call, for want of better names, spiritual insight or intuition. To ignore the fact that there are tens of thousands of persons who live in direct communion with the Unseen which some metaphysicians call the Absolute but which they call God, and in virtue of that communion do a very large share of all the good things that are done on the planet, is simply ridiculous, as ridiculous as it is to refuse to see any other patent fact."

Renan himself as he grew older seems in his metaphysical speculations to have advanced towards disbelief in the existence of a personal God, and some have not unnaturally been inclined to trace to this a certain falling off in moral tone that appears in some of his later works. The qualities of his character he most valued he ascribed, when writing of his early years, to the religious education he received as a youth.

"My masters," he says, "showed me besides, something that was of infinitely more value than criticism or philosophical insight: they taught me the love of truth, respect for reason, the seriousness of life. That is the only thing in me that has never changed."

In spite of what he says in this passage there can be no doubt that he showed in his later years less inclination to look upon life as a serious matter, and sometimes his writings show a flippancy that could not but be distressing to those to whom life and its most solemn problems are something more than a jest. Sir M. E. Grant Duff admits the flaws in some of Renan's work, "a certain tone of irony passing at times into something like frivolity," but he maintains that they are insignificant when compared with the great mass of the grave work he did. Renan, he says, led the purest of lives, and his character is not to be learned from these occasional blemishes in his writings. In his own essay on the theology of Béranger, Renan criticised to perfection.

"The very faults into which he fell, on rare occasions, near the end of his career, arose as much from a morbid desire not to pose as better than other men as from any other cause. Every one, who knows anything about him at all, knows that his conduct from birth to death was simply that of a saint—a saint whose opinions may have been as detestable as possible, but who, even if judged by the teachings of the Galilean Lake, was still a saint."

It is impossible here to discuss the theological views of either M. Renan or Sir M. E. Grant Duff, but we may in conclusion notice that Sir M. E. Grant Duff holds strongly that Renan was not destructive in his intentions. He had none of the bitterness which those who have left a party or a religious faith so often feel and exhibit towards those

who have not gone with them. Educated as a priest Renan would fain have remained in the Church, but he found himself unable honestly to do so, and his being true to his convictions cost him dear on more than one occasion. He had no wish to destroy the faith of others, but he felt it to be his duty to put forward what he considered to be true. After reading Sir M. E. Grant Duff's book one cannot but respect Renan for his loyalty to what he regarded as truth, however much one may disagree with the conclusions at which he arrived.

Essays on Lord Tennyson's Idylls of the King. By Harold Littledale, M.A. London: Macmillan and Co., 1893.

The recent death of the late Laureate has led to such an outburst of Tennysonian literature that one may be pardoned for opening this volume with a slight suspicion that the contents, written hastily in the enthusiasm of the moment, may prove ephemeral. We may say at once that the briefest glance is sufficient to prove any such idea erroneous. The volume is marked by careful research and wide reading, and is the result of labour expended long before Lord Tennyson's death. The title, *Essays*, is somewhat misleading. It suggests a volume of reprints from current periodical literature, which 'by the kind permission of the respective editors' the author has now gathered into a volume, or at all events a series of detached or loosely connected philosophical disquisitions on the leading ideas of the poem. Mr. Littledale has given us what is much more valuable—a study of the poem as a whole—and we take the liberty of saying that if he had named it a *Study* it would have more correctly indicated the method and the contents of the volume. It is the outcome of his professorial labours in an Indian chair, was in substance delivered in lectures to his class, and is therefore in the first instance intended, as the preface indicates, to students of the *Idylls*. As a guide to students we know no volume equal to it. There is indeed no volume of the kind, and it will prove of great service to all who are studying the poem without the guidance of the lecturer. In one volume we have here gathered together a large number of facts which hitherto have been obtainable only by those who had the means of considerable research. We welcome it, therefore, as a useful addition to the *apparatus criticus* of the student.

Mr. Littledale begins with a chapter on the Arthurian legend, showing its gradual growth up to the days of Malory. He does not pronounce definitely on the actual historical character of Arthur, though we gather that he inclines to the general belief of modern scholars that a true historic basis lies beneath the accumulations of myth. The second chapter carries on the fortunes of the legend from Malory to Tennyson. One of the most interesting things in English literature is the subtle way

in which the legend has permeated so much that is best in it. In our own day Matthew Arnold, Swinburne, and Morris, have alike with Tennyson, drawn from its perennial springs, and there has hardly been a period since it first took shape in the hands of Geoffrey of Monmouth, that has not in some form made use of it. Mr. Littledale's sketch, though brief, is fairly full. Chapter III. deals very briefly with the names of the characters and the places from an antiquarian point of view. The first three chapters form an introduction to the study of the poem itself in the rest of the volume. They form in our opinion, with the exception of the last, the most interesting portion of the book, though they occupy only fifty pages. A chapter is devoted to each of the Idylls. That on *The Coming of Arthur* may be taken as typical of the whole. A brief summary of the story in Tennyson is first given; with this is contrasted the story as given by Malory; and, lastly, notes are added on obscure points, both historical and explanatory. The notes are good, but we question the wisdom of thus attaching them to the text of the criticisim in the same type.

The value of all this portion of the volume lies in the careful and detailed comparison with the story of Malory, from which Tennyson mainly drew his facts. The divergences from Malory are in the highest degree instructive, showing as they do the working of Tennyson's mind, and leading us, therefore, to a truer appreciation of the aim and ethical teaching of the poem.

Mr. Littledale closes with a paragraph of counsel to the student.

> "Critical study of an author is very well in its way, and useful as a preparation for the appreciation of a poem. But it is only truly useful in the sense that a study of the science helps our appreciation of the works of the Creator. Such learning is a means and not the end. We must look at nature with direct eyes, and not through the medium of books if we would commune with the spirit of nature; and we must read poetry, not for the sake of the particles of literary dust that adhere to it, but for its own sake, and for the poet's sake, sincerely and sympathetically."

This is all very true and very excellent; but, may we venture to point out that the book is somewhat lacking in the qualities that would lead the student to a fuller appreciation of the beauty and poetic spirit of the poem? It is the only real fault we have found in it. The others are comparatively small. Doubtless Mr. Littledale would justify himself on the ground that any such minute study of the poetic qualities and poetic thought of the *Idylls* went beyond his province in the present volume, but if so, we think that a volume so good and so useful might have been all the better had it possessed more of the kind of writing found from page 290 to page 299. A fuller study on lines such as those followed by Mr. Stedman, or Mr. Elsdale, or Mr. Peter Bayne, would have made the volume not merely good and useful, but an inspiration to

the student to seek in the *Idylls of the King* "the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."

The Gladstone bag illustration on page 47 might with advantage be omitted in a second edition.

Storm's *French Dialogues.* Edited by Macdonald. London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892. Price 4*s.* 6*d.*

Dr. Storm is the Professor of Romance and English Philology in the University of Christiania. Dissatisfied with the teaching of French that prevailed in Norway in 1887 he set himself to reform it by issuing the book of which this is the English representative. It is an attempt to teach French not as it is written but as it is really spoken, not by insisting on rules but by setting forth the usage. His system is based on two principles which he asserts experience has taught him: (1) "Living languages are learned more by imitation than by rules." (2) Books are necessary for the learning of a language. "To attempt to learn a language exclusively by the ear, through intercourse with natives of the country, is simply to waste time."

His aim has been to put before the student, systematically of course, "the expressions that are most necessary and most characteristic from the point of view of grammar and of phraseology alike."

The result, therefore, is an instruction-book in French idioms, not French idioms as they used to be taught, the sententious and quaint sayings best paralleled by Mrs. Poyser's or Sam Weller's conversation, but mainly those in common use, those to which the rules of an ordinary grammar refer. How well the attempt has been executed and how valuable the book is recognised as being, is shown by the fact that it has been rendered already into seven languages.

There are twelve chapters, dealing with different departments of grammar. Chapter II., for example, is headed 'The Partitive Article'. It contains twenty-four short dialogues illustrating this subject, the French being given in one column, the English translation in another. At the end of the chapter is a list of phrases not included in the dialogues but illustrating the same subject, and a few exercises on the chapter. Footnotes explain the rules or departures from them, especially referring to any difference between written and spoken usage.

The difficult work of rendering the book into English has been done in such a way as to leave few opportunities to the fault-finder, and the book may be confidently recommended to any who wish to speak French correctly.

Macmillan's French Composition, Second Course. By Eugéne Fasnacht. Price 5*s.*

THIS is on the whole the best guide to French composition we have seen. Of the three parts which it comprises, the first contains parallel passages in English and French, after the fashion which Nixon's *Parallel Extracts* established for the teaching of Latin composition. Thus, for example, when translating into French Scott's comparison of Louis XI. and Charles the Bold, the student has the advantage of studying what Victor Hugo and Michelant have written on the same subject, and moulding his style and diction accordingly. Part II. consists of English extracts for translation, Part III.—more than half the book—of model French extracts on various subjects ranging from Dinner to Hope. The extracts in the last two parts are well chosen. Perhaps the balance of the parts might have been reversed with advantage, and the notes which are attached to Parts I. and II. do not always carry conviction.

WE are in receipt of Parts 19 and 20 of the Illustrated Edition of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People.* These show no falling off from the standard reached in the earlier parts. From Messrs. Macmillan and Co. we have also received Weeks' *Exercises in Euclid*; *Arithmetic for the Standards*, in seven parts, by Lock and Collar; *Mental Arithmetic for the Standards*, in three parts; and Xenophon's *Anabasis*, VI., edited and annotated by G. H. Nall. From Messrs. Longmans and Co. we have received *Little Raja's Primer of Indian History*, by G. U. Pope; and Books 4 and 5 of Longmans' 'Ship' *Historical* Readers. These contain stories and biographies drawn from English History between 1066 and 1603; and will be found very interesting and instructive. Book 5 has the name of Mr. S. R. Gardiner on the title-page, itself a valuable recommendation.

MR. JOSEPH EDWARDS' elementary treatise on the Differential Calculus is a well-known and deservedly popular text-book. Like many books of its kind it has very speedily shown a tendency to expand and to adapt itself to the needs of students who have made some progress in the subject. It has thus become too comprehensive for beginners, who will welcome Mr. Edwards' recently published *Differential Calculus for Beginners*. Of this work it is unnecessary to say more than that it possesses the merits of simplicity and conciseness so conspicuous in the larger treatise. It is sure to be largely used in English schools. The larger work, however, is the one we should still commend to Madras students.

NOTES AND EXTRCTS.

The June number of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* contains a very interesting and instructive paper on malaria and acclimatisation. The writer of the paper, which was read at a recent meeting of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society is Dr. H. Martyn Clark of Amritsar.

Dr. Martyn Clark first describes the distribution of malaria on the earth's surface. It is utterly unknown in the Arctic regions and is not very common in the temperate zone. It becomes more general in its distribution and more virulent in its effects as we approach the tropics. In regions far away from the equator it occurs chiefly in marshy districts, along the courses of rivers, more especially of rivers which overflow their banks, but nearer the equator it occurs in tracts which are not ordinarily marshy. According to many eminent authorities it is the cause of half the deaths throughout the world, and in India it carries off twice as many persons as all other epidemics together. Moreover, the deaths directly due to malaria are not a complete measure of its dreadful effects, for many constitutions are ruined by the secondary affections induced by it.

What then is malaria? On this question, says Dr. Martyn Clark, our knowledge is as yet very inadequate. The theories that attributed the disease either directly to marshes and their vegetation, or to the production of marsh and other gases, to deficiency of hydrogen or excess of ammonia, have been abandoned. The theory, too, that malarial fevers are simply due to chill after exposure to great heat, has been shown to be inconsistent with facts. Several forms of micro-organisms have been discovered which have been assigned as the cause of malaria, but though the researches to which we owe the discovery of these have thrown much light on the cause and propagation of the disease, it cannot be definitely said that the poison of malaria has been found. Dr. Martyn Clark sums up our present knowledge of the subject somewhat as follows. Malaria is an earth-born poison, which appears to proceed from those elements which exist in soil and nourish animal and vegetable life, if these elements are allowed to lie fallow and are not fully expended in the growth of healthy vegetation. Under these circumstances malaria is produced whenever the conditions of temperature, moisture, and air are favourable. As a general rule marshy places, low lands, and lands subject to inundation are the chief haunts of malaria. Deep, rich, absorbent soils, argillaceous or alluvial, especially in valleys and places sheltered from the prevailing winds, also favour the propagation of the disease. In India rivers and streams, almost from their sources to their mouths, are some of the chief haunts of malaria and prime factors in its production. Having but a slight fall they inundate vast tracts of country during the

rainy season, and when the inundated lands begin to dry they become hot-beds of disease.

Dr. Martyn Clark calls attention to another way in which rivers render unhealthy the tracts of land through which they flow. This is the permeation of adjoining lands, apart from inundation. He says he has seen wells affected at a distance of a mile and a half from a river. Considering the amount of organic matter that an Indian river holds in solution, and the filth that drains into it, as well as the number of carcases consigned to it, it is not difficult, in view of the above, to see that it may be a very serious danger to the public health.

In addition to rivers the jungle which clothes the valleys, the plains, and the sides of low hills, is in India a very fertile source of malaria. The soil being rich carries a dense mass of vegetation, and after heavy rain the roots of the plants hold the rain water and part with it slowly, so that the jungle becomes for the time being almost a morass, which as it dries becomes a source of malaria. Heavy dews also tend to produce the same effect. Not only is malaria produced in jungle, but, since the vegetation is not sufficiently tall to check its dissemination, it is blown by the winds in all directions. It may thus be blown far up mountain sides along water-courses and gullies. This fact ought always to be borne in mind in the selection of hill sanitaria and sites for houses. Another no less important fact is the fact that protection from malarial currents may be obtained by walls or any similar obstacles. This has a very direct bearing on the sanitary condition of Indian cities. Dr. Martyn Clark says that an Indian town appears to be built in defiance of all sanitary laws. But, he says, we must not at once come to the conclusion that everything Eastern is bad or that what is good in the West is always suitable in the East. In the West straight and wide streets and free air-currents have done much to improve the health of large towns, and it is at least not unnatural to suppose that light and air would prove as beneficial in the East as they have done in the West. This supposition would be correct were it not that in and around most Eastern towns malaria is constantly being evolved from the soil. In this process the sun is a most powerful agent. Narrow streets help to exclude the sun and so to retard the process, and protecting walls and deflecting angles tend to prevent the dissemination of the poison when produced: hence until it is possible to stop the evolution of malaria in the neighbourhood of an Eastern town sanitary schemes which have proved beneficial in the West should be introduced with the greatest caution. As Dr. Martyn Clark says, thousands of years of experience have not been without their effect in teaching the people of India what is best for them in matters relating to food, clothing, houses, exposure, sleep, and the details of daily life.

While low jungle is a great malaria-producer, the influence of dense

forest is generally protective. Unless the forest is very old the crowns of the trees form a dense canopy which effectually shields the ground from the rays of the sun, absorbs about a quarter of the total rainfall, keeps the air from the soil, and breaks up the air-currents. Large forests, too, render the climate of the surrounding country more equable than it would otherwise be. But when a forest becomes old, and the trees begin to die, the conditions approximate more to those of ordinary jungle, and the forest may then become a very bad source of malaria. Certain wet, close woods, also, are very malarious, but in this case the cause of the trouble is probably rather the wetness than the wood.

It is very generally supposed that clearance of soil, cultivation, and the cutting down of forests tend to prevent the production of malaria; but experience has shown that this is not necessarily the case. In fact it has often happened that outbreaks of the disease have been greatly intensified by such clearances. When the protecting trees have been removed, the soil, saturated with animal remains and vegetable matter, is placed under the most favourable conditions for the development of malaria. Dr. Martyn Clark is however of opinion that drainage, clearances, and cultivation will eventually win the day against malaria; but in carrying out these operations it is necessary to proceed with caution In the process of clearing a forest the ground should never be laid bare, but should be sown while the trees are still standing; and as regards all operations which entail the breaking up of soil they should be carried on when the chances of rain are least.

While the small amount of moisture needed for the production of malaria may be supplied by rain or dew, it is generally derived, Dr. Martyn Clark thinks, from the subsoil. The level of the subsoil water is therefore a very important factor in malaria production; and it is an unfailing rule that the nearer the subsoil water is to the surface of the ground the more unhealthy a place is. This is a fact of the utmost importance in relation to the system of land irrigation so largely employed throughout India. Unless subsoil drainage is attended to irrigation is almost certain to raise the level of the subsoil water, and the result, as experience has shown, may be most disastrous. In all systems of irrigation in tropical lands the water after fertilizing the soil ought to be allowed to run off. The question of the influence of subsoil water in the production of malaria assumes great importance when it is remembered that malaria may be imbibed as well as inhaled, and that though much of the malarious air that exists under the surface of the ground is doubtless exhaled by the soil some of it remains and is washed into wells. Dr. Martyn Clark thinks the reason why some Indian cities have not benefited from new water supplies is that the water has been taken from infected sources.

Deadly malaria may be present when the surface of the ground is

composed solely of rock and where there is no subsoil water. The necessary moisture may in this case be supplied by dew, but, says Dr. Martyn Clark, in all instances of malarial diseases occurring in places where they cannot, apparently, be locally produced, it must not be forgotten that the infection may have been carried from a distance. A consideration of the direction of the prevailing winds may furnish a probable explanation of the problem.

We have already indicated some of the measures that may be taken to prevent the production of malaria. Among others may be mentioned the flooding of malarial spots and the planting of trees. Dr. Martyn Clark does not believe that trees directly absorb malaria, as some maintain, but they shade and screen the soil, and by intercepting the poison mechanically act as preventive agents. The best trees are therefore those known as 'shade-bearing', among which are the banyan, the peepul, and the mango. The plantain Dr. Martyn Clark holds to be of exceptional value in the reclamation of malarious lands. This is chiefly owing to its immense capacity for absorbing water. The eucalyptus, on the other hand, has been tried and found wanting.

As regards personal safeguards against malaria due regard must always be had to the peculiar circumstances of each case. It must not be forgotten, for example, that wind may play a large part in the dissemination of the poison; nor should it be forgotten that chill is the greatest enemy of health in all hot countries. Water used for drinking purposes should be boiled, and so also should milk, which may be a source of infection. Mosquito bites by their irritation predispose to malarial fevers, and both on this account as well as for their directly obstructive influence mosquito nets are useful. Coffee used habitually has a prophylactic effect, and so, Dr. Martyn Clark is disposed to think, has tobacco. Quinine may be regularly taken with advantage, and ought to be taken when malaria is rife.

Anything that destroys or lowers the balance of general health predisposes to an attack of malaria. Hence the danger to a European of prolonged residence in a tropical country, and the need for frequent visits home. A European in good health, if he is to maintain his constitution unimpaired, should in ordinary circumstances take furlough after the first five or seven years of his residence in India, and at the conclusion of every subsequent five years. And no European should come to India until his constitution has fully developed. One attack of malarial fever seems to predispose to another; and when once the poison gets into the system it is probably never eradicated. Thus whenever the balance of health is disturbed in a person who has had an attack of malaria, the poison is apt to assert itself, and often proves more formidable than the affection which induced its action. Besides manifesting itself in fevers malarial poison has a causal relation to

dysentery and abscess of the liver, and frequently gives rise to the most varied diseases of other kinds. But even when there is no actual disease present the poison is inimical to life, especially the life of Europeans. The infection of the system is progressive, and hence, Dr. Martyn Clark thinks, acclimatisation to malaria is impossible. Individuals do probably vary in their susceptibility to malarial influence, and it may be that inhabitants of very malarious tracts, who enjoy comparative immunity from malaria, are really a survival of the fittest *in a process of acclimatisation* in which malaria has been the great acclimatising agent. But to whatever extent this process may have gone on in the past it would appear that malaria cannot be regarded as an acclimatiser for any race of men at the present day; and it is a well known fact that in a country like India, whether on the plains or on the hills, European stock tends to degenerate and to die out.

Four out of the six articles which form the contents of the last issue of the *Indian Evangelical Review* deal with the religions of India. The first, by the Rev. Dr. Hooper, is on the teachings of Manu, and the second, by the Rev. C. N. Banerjea of the London Mission, Calcutta, deals with Hinduism and its modern Indian exponents. Then follows a paper on 'Brahmanism, Past and Present', reprinted from the *Missionary Review of the World*. The writer of this paper is Professor T. M. Lindsay, Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland. Lastly comes a paper by Professor J. Avery on 'The Religion of the Aboriginal Tribes of India'.

Dr. Lindsay's paper is valuable as showing among other things the danger of deriving one's knowledge of the Hindu faiths from books—even from the works of those who are reputed authorities on Indian subjects. As is known to most of our readers, Dr. Lindsay was commissioned a few years ago to visit and report on the missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India. His duties kept him twelve months in the country, and led him frequently into villages and rural tracts where he had opportunities of seeing real Hindu life. He had, he says, previously read what ancient religious books of India could be found in translations, as well as expositions of the Indian religious systems by famous writers. He came to this country with the results of his reading in his memory, and ready to apply the instruction received, expecting to see what he had read or heard. What he actually saw, on the contrary, was a wonderful religious confusion of worships *in what was called Hinduism*, a heterogeneous, almost fortuitous conglomeration of religions, and the universal prevalence of worships, continually fed by new shoots from a living germinating polytheism, quite distinct from that of the deities of the Hindu pantheon. He gives a score of examples, witnessed by himself, of the objects used in the worship of the ordinary middle-class

Hindus, and ventures to say that to these might be added some hundreds of deities whose names never appear in books which profess to describe the Hindu religion.

In the neighbourhood of Mahableshwar Dr. Lindsay came upon a village the people of which worshipped a huge boulder with a curious cleft in it. He asked an old man if he really believed that the great black stone could hear their prayers and answer them; and received the following answer: "Saheb, there is but one Spirit of God, as there is but one spirit of man—one spirit of man, and it is in you, Saheb, and in the least of your servants, in me, Saheb; so there is but one Spirit of God, Saheb, and He is in our goddess here, and in Khandoba at Jejuri and in Vitoba at Pandharpur." Further questioning, says Dr. Lindsay, showed that this subtle pantheism, thus suddenly evoked from a man utterly uneducated and in social standing outside the pale of Hinduism, was a mere habit of mind, the thought of a people rather than the intelligent expression of individual belief. But the pantheism was there, and the question is, How came it there?

"My own reading," says Dr. Lindsay, "combined with personal observation, makes me think that the curious polytheism I have described is '*not so much the offspring of Brahmanism as its child by adoption*;' that its ideas are not necessarily Hindu, still less Brahmanic; that though Brahmans can always *explain these ideas by their all-pervading* symbolism, this symbolism is but an after-thought entirely independent of the mood of the worshippers; that, in short, this polytheism would exist if there had been no such thing as Brahmanism. The subtle pantheism. however, prevading it all, which can always be evoked among all classes of Hindu worshippers, is quite another thing. I do not mean to say that Brahmanism is the vital source of this pantheism, which may, after all, be a strange subtle side of all Oriental thought; but on any supposition we have in the old historical Brahmanism, dead and buried for centuries as a popular creed, the ideal of what is dimly apprehended *but really held by* all Hindus in the present day."

To show that the Hinduism of the present day is the child by adoption of Brahmanism rather than its direct offspring is Dr. Lindsay's chief object *in the present paper*. But before dealing with Brahmanism, strictly so called, as a dominating factor in the every-day religions of the Hindus, he describes briefly what Brahmanism itself is, and traces the circumstances amid which it was developed. In this connection he has the following remarks which are worthy of quotation:—

"It is almost impossible to trace the stages of growth. Early Indian literature is not historical. The criticism of documents based on internal evidence alone is extremely unproductive. The supreme canon of the higher criticism, that a document which really dates from a given period must show itself instinct with the life of that period, cannot be applied when we have no history *to tell us what that life was*. The Brahmans became the custodians of the old literature, and have changed and interpolated the text to suit their preten-

sions: but when we come to test the extent of these interpolations, and to arrange documents in chronological order to show the gradual growth of new *institutions, then we fail utterly and are very much left to conjecture.*"

In the second part of his paper Dr. Lindsay goes on to show how little the religions of Hinduism correspond to theoretical Brahmanism and yet how strong and real is the power of Brahmanism at the present day. Hindu polytheism, as observation shows, is no amalgam of creeds, wrought up into a system according to past or present Brahmanic ideas, but a free vigorous thing, making its new divinities day by day, unfettered by any rule. Brahmanism, says Dr. Lindsay, has been powerless to guide, still less to restrain, this lawless, ever young polytheism. Where, then, is its power in Hindu religion? To find the secret of its power we must look to its history. Speaking generally the Brahmans represent the Aryans. They have been not only the theologians and the philosophers, but the law-givers, the administrators, the men of science, and the poets of their country. They have been the Levitical tribe in India. They have not been slow to take advantage of the excessive superstition of the Hindus, and have practically constituted themselves gods to their more unsophisticated countrymen. Their religion is not a matter of creed, but of customary practice; and the Brahman pantheon is open to every new deity presented for registration. In this way the aboriginal tribes are coming under the influence of Brahmanism at a rate not sufficiently recognised by Christian missionaries. Lastly, says Dr. Lindsay, the Brahmanic philosophy formulates with sufficient precision for the Hindu mind that latent pantheism which seems inseparable from Oriental thought even in its crudest state.

The paper on the religion of the aboriginal tribes of India is also a very interesting one, but we must content ourselves with simply quoting the following sentences from the introductory paragraph:—

"If," says Professer Avery, "we have observed aright the course of thought at the present time, there is a growing disposition to study attentively all the systems of religion which at one time or another have been devised or accepted by men, with the view to discover their origin and the laws which have governed their development. There is a tendency also to withdraw the study of religion from the exclusive dominion of sentiment, and to apply to it the same rigid canons of criticism which have been used so successfully in other fields of inquiry. There was a time when the Christian Church viewed everything called religion outside its own fold much as the Greeks looked at the world beyond the confines of their peninsula, and lumped together alien beliefs of every variety and merit under the general title of heathenism; but, happily, a more appreciative spirit now prevails, and we are coming to see that there is much in other systems of belief that deserves our admiration, and not a little that has served the divine purpose in educating the world up to the understanding of a purer revelation."

Professor Avery's paper was read before the Victoria Institute, Lon-

don, and the discussion which followed, and of which an account is published along with the paper, shows that the more appreciative spirit spoken of by the writer is not yet by any means universal in the Christian Church. It seems very hard for many professing Christians to be charitable to those who hold views different from their own regarding the nature of God's dealings with mankind. It would be unfair, however, to give the impression that all who took part in the discussion of Professor Avery's paper were of the narrow sort. The discussion was in fact a very interesting and instructive one.

THE Rev. H. E. Perkins contributes to the July number of the *Indian Church Quarterly Review* a short paper on the social and legal rights of Native Christians. This is a subject of deep concern to all who are taking a part in the work of building up a Native Christian Church in India, and it is a subject to which many missionaries devote less attention than it deserves. Every one knows how in spite of all that an intelligent and discreet missionary can do a convert may be subjected to the greatest annoyance, sometimes even running the risk of his life; but there can be no doubt also that the outbursts of ill-feeling that occur on occasions of conversion might often be prevented if missionaries displayed not less zeal, pehaps, but more common sense and knowledge of their civic rights and duties than they sometimes do. The law of the land not unfrequently shows itself more consonant with the principles of true Christianity than does the action of those whose work it is to expound the faith. Mr. Perkins quotes a case in point. A mother having given over a child to a missionary orphanage under a written stipulation never to take her back, save on payment of all the expenses of her board and education, a dispute arose, and the case was decided against the mission on the ground that guardianship is not only a privilege but a duty, of which a parent cannot ordinarily divest himself, and a child cannot be made the object of a lien, to justify its detention till a sum of money be paid. Mr. Perkins also refers to decisions in which the law has maintained the right of a missionary to have the custody of a minor who from conviction had become Christian and elected to be under the guardianship of the missionary. He gives several other rulings and quotations from various enactments to show the present state of the law on the subject of the rights of Native Christians. The result of his enquiry into the matter is that so far as British India is concerned there is something but not much for missionaries to complain of. He thinks the case is probably different in Native States, and refers to a paper dealing with the disabilities of Native Christians in Travancore which was published in a recent number of the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*. He urges upon missionaries the necessity of acquainting themselves with such matters, and, where neces-

sary, of taking steps to secure that Native Christians whether in British India or in Native States shall enjoy the rights conferred upon them by the Queen's Proclamation of 1858. It may be remembered that at the Bombay Decennial Conference Mr. Perkins was appointed to organise an inquiry into this subject.

COLLEGE NOTES.

THE classes were reopened on Wednesday the 19th of July. The School department had of course been at work a fortnight earlier. There was nothing connected with the reopening that calls for particular notice. The attendance on the first day was, as usual, less than it ought to be, though probably not less than it commonly is in places for instruction either in India or elsewhere. It may be worth mentioning that of those on the roll of the College before the vacation about 78 per cent. presented themselves at the proper hour on the 19th. Of those similarly on the roll of the Upper School 84 per cent. had appeared on the first day of the School term. Considering that about 7 per cent. is the proportion of absentees on an ordinary working day in both departments, this shows greater irregularity than there ought to be. The vacation is a long one and the greatest promptitude is looked for in resuming work. I do not deny that the figures I have given may show more promptitude in this respect than is altogether common; but the thing that is right, not the thing that is customary, is the standard by which the College and its students must expect to be always judged.

MR. MESTON, whose appointment was notified last month, reached Madras by way of Bombay on the morning of Friday the 28th of July. He saw all the classes of both School and College at work on that day and began work himself on Monday the 31st.

MR. LAIDLAW was inducted to his pastoral charge at Huntly early last month. Dr. W. C. Smith, the distinguished Moderator of the Free Church of Scotland for the current year, took a leading part on the occasion. Mr. Russell (of whose safe arrival in Scotland notice was received some time ago) was present at the induction. So also were the Rev. Walter Joss and my brother, Mr. Miller of Buckie. Mr. Laidlaw thus had some beside him who were interested in his old sphere as well as the very many who gave him a hearty welcome to his new appointment.

THE College Council at once sanctioned the plan of which I said a little in my April Notes, for the encouragement of self-training for the

M.A. Examination on the part of a few of the most earnest and aspiring among those who have graduated from the College. During the vacation, the room set apart for this purpose in the Tower was furnished in the way that had been proposed. There is in it now a rather nice array of book-cases within a counter which occupies a corner of the room. There are also ten tables, suitably fitted up, one of which will be for the exclusive use of each of the intending candidates for the higher degree. For a time at least, this number will be sufficient, or more than sufficient. There is also a supply of books, not yet so large as it is intended to make it, but ample for a fair beginning. Some books have been removed from the old Consulting Room. They are, however, only such as were seldom or perhaps never used by the regular students. There is also a much larger number of new books which have been carefully selected for their usefulness in the various branches of the M.A. course of study. The value of the volumes with which the new Consulting Library thus starts is somewhere about Rs. 1,600. These books are at present being arranged, marked, and catalogued; and before these Notes appear, the whole scheme will no doubt be in complete daily operation.

I have some hope that the new departure will be really beneficial in a variety of ways. It must be understood that nothing in the least like M.A. classes is contemplated. I have given my views on this point before, and I am glad that they have attracted some public notice. Unless in those subjects which require experimental work, where a certain limited exception is no doubt admissible, it would be a fatal mistake to give direct formal instruction to candidates for the M.A. Degree. It is self-training, not submission to training, that is needed in the highest of all stages of education; and the most honourable degree in Arts which the University can bestow ought always to be most strictly reserved for those who have shown both the desire and the ability to think and study entirely for themselves. The college to which they belong may fitly supply them with reasonable facilities for study and give them occasional advice and guidance. This the Christian College will hence forward endeavour to do. Anything beyond this would be a lamentable departure from the best ideal of a truly liberal education.

I MAY indulge myself with a very few lines on a purely personal affair. Since I was recommended by the Senate of the University for nomination to the Legislative Council, I have been overwhelmed with letters of congratulation. As I have said to not a few already, I am not sure whether sympathy with me under the increase of my work and responsibilities would not be more appropriate than congratulations. I am grateful, however, for the sentiments expressed in the shoals of letters I have been receiving on the subject. What I wish to say is that I am unable directly to acknowledge all these letters. I have replied to some of them.

But to as many of the writers as are—or ought to be—readers of the magazine, I have not replied, except in some cases for special reasons. I hope however that all such will accept this as my acknowledgment of the kindly feeling they have shown.

WILLIAM MILLER.

SCIENTIFIC AND LITERARY JOTTINGS.

THE following rule for finding the day of the week corresponding to any given date, communicated to *Nature* by Mr. C. Braun, is so simple that it is worth reproducing.

Let A = number of given year;

B = number of the day in the year;

C = number of leap years from A.D. 1 to the beginning of the year, that is, (A – 1) ÷ 4, neglecting the remainder.

Add these numbers together, and from the total subtract D = the number of secular years which were not leap years (100, 200, 300, 500, &c.); divide the sum by 7, and the remainder will be the day of the week.

Example: June 18, 1815.

1815 + 169 + 453 – 14 = 2423.

2423 ÷ 7 gives the remainder 1, showing that the day is Sunday.

This holds for any century according to the Gregorian Calendar. For the Julian reckoning the rule is the same, only omit the number D and write 2 in its place.

Example: Oct. 14, 1066.

1066 + 287 + 266 – 2 = 1617.

1617 ÷ 7 gives the remainder 0 (or 7), showing that the day is Saturday

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IT was pointed out by Arago, the centenary of whose birth has just been celebrated in Paris by the unveiling of a statue, that the size of the earth does not afford a satisfactory standard for measurements. In addition to the difficulty of accurately measuring the size of the earth, we are met with the fundamental difficulty that the earth, as a cooling body must also be contracting. Most other natural standards are equally unsuited to give what may be called secular standards, but Arago suggested that in light might be found such a secular standard. Many other physicists have, since his time, tried to make such measurements of the wave length of light as would render it possible to use that as a standard, but it is only quite recently that measures have been made which can claim sufficient accuracy. Some idea of the difficulty involved may be gathered from the fact that it requires about 850,000 of the wave lengths employed in one case to make half a metre. The method

employed by A. A. Michelson to overcome these difficulties is one form of the interference method, in which interference is produced between two rays reflected from two parallel planes. The first difficulty experienced was in obtaining a sufficiently homogeneous source of light, since it was found that most sources corresponding to bright lines in the spectrum are double, triple, or still more complex. Finally the red line of cadmium vapour was found to be suitable; and by placing the luminous body in a vacuum it was found possible to use the interference bands of a very high order. The actual measurements were made with the fringes due to a difference of path of 10 cm., and it is believed that this difference can be determined to within a few millionths of a millimetre. Hence it seems to be perfectly practicable to make a new metre by comparison with the wave length of this particular cadmium line, which will not differ by a measurable quantity from the standard metre.

THE immense size of the new Yerkes telescope, now under construction, can be gathered from the following figures which are taken from a note in *Astromomy and Astrophysics.* The total weight of the pier and its head is about 45 tons, and the height from the base to the centre of motion is 43 ft. 6 inches. The polar axis, of steel, is 15 inches in diameter and 13 ft. long, and weighs $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons; the declination axis weighs $1\frac{3}{4}$ tons. The tube is of sheet steel and has a total length of $62\frac{1}{2}$ feet, exclusive of the eye-end. The largest diameter, in the centre, is 52 inches. The diameter at the eye-end is 38 inches, and the diameter at the object-glass end 43 inches. The complete tube will weigh about 6 tons. The focal length of the objective is to be about 64 feet. The total weight of the telescope will be about 75 tons, and when it is pointed to the zenith the object glass will be 72 feet up in the air!

E. O. ERDMANN describes in *Wiedemann's Annalen* a curious phenomenon which seems never to have been noticed before. If a piece of pure aluminium is put in contact with mercury, snow-white filiform or straw-shaped formations grow from the point of contact of the two metals and in a few minutes acquire a length of two to three centimetres. Under the microscope they appear as tube-shaped or plate-shaped veils of extreme delicacy and perfectly amorphous. If they are detached by tapping or shaking they look like lint. Chemical analysis shows that they consist of pure aluminium hydrate. The suggested explanations are (1) that a highly oxidizable amalgam of aluminium is formed at the surface of contact, or (2) that electrolytic decomposition occurs in the thin film of water condensed on the surface of the metals, or (3) that the highly positive aluminium by contact with mercury acquires a greater affinity for oxygen in the same manner as iron filings do when hanging from a magnet.

In the *Philosophical Magazine* for July Lord Rayleigh investigates mathematically the theory of stellar scintillation. Accepting the theory that the effect is due to the difference in the paths pursued by rays of different colours on account of regular atmospheric dispersion he examines the conditions necessary to produce the spectrum effects recorded by Respighi. Amongst other results of considerable theoretical importance he finds that little effect is produced unless the obstacles causing the scintillations are at a distance of less than 4 kilometres. On the nature of the obstacles he does not venture to pronounce an opinion, but seems to assume that they are in some way or another connected with strata of different temperature or density. In this connection it is worth pointing out that at the end of 1883, when the air is believed to have been laden with dust from Krakatoa, the planet Mercury scintillated very strongly.

C. M. S.

It is not often that a writer who has once authoritatively expressed his opinion upon an oft-disputed subject acknowledges that opinion to be incorrect. It is therefore not without credit to Sir F. Pollock that in the new edition of his *Land Laws* in the Citizen Series he allows that the researches of Vinogradoff and others have convinced him that the theories of folk-land and the village community followed in the first edition are untenable. He now holds that folk-land was not land belonging to the state as opposed to private land, but land held by folk-right, the old customary law, as opposed to land held by the new-fangled title of a charter or 'book'. He surrenders therefore his invention of 'heir-land'. In addition he attaches himself to those who trace the manor to servile holdings. "I feel," he writes, "more and more doubtful whether a free village community as it was currently talked of twenty or even ten years ago ever really existed in any Anglo-Saxon kingdom."

It is an open secret that 'the Quarterly Reviewer', to whose criticism of Freeman's *Norman Conquest* reference has more than once been made in these columns, is Mr. J. H. Round, whose *Geoffrey de Mandeville—A Study of the Anarchy*, issued about a year ago, is the authority on the reign of Stephen. As the result of the discussion which his review provoked, he is pledged to a work on the authorities for the history of the Norman Conquest which is being eagerly awaited.

A propos of the proposed statue to John Knox in Edinburgh, a proposal which is likely soon to be an accomplished fact, an interesting letter has been communicated to the *Scotsman* by Mr. Hume Brown.

The letter, which sets at rest the much disputed point as to the true portrait of Knox, was written to Beza by Peter (aftewards Sir Peter) Young, assistant to George Buchanan in the education of James VI. It was found recently in the Ducal Library at Gotha. The portion dealing with the personal appearance of Knox is as follows;—

"With regard to your request that I should send you the portraits of the illustrious men who have toiled for the glory of God among us, and specially that of Mr. Knox, set it for ever down to the negligence (not to use a stronger word) of our nation that it has never given heed to this duty. Not even of Knox, a man worthy of eternal memory, does any representation exist. However, I have approached certain of our artists, and if they stand by their promises, you will receive a portrait of him along with this letter. Meanwhile, with my own pencil I will describe his face and bearing from my own recollection of him, and from the report of such as were most intimate with him while he yet lived. The whole story of his life you will hear from Mr. Lowson. In stature, then, he was slightly under the middle height, of well-knit and graceful figure, with shoulders somewhat broad, longish fingers, head of moderate size, hair black, complexion somewhat dark, and a general appearance not unpleasing. In his stern and severe countenance there was a natural dignity and majesty not without a certain grace, and in anger there was an air of command on his brow. Under a somewhat narrow forehead his brows stood out in a slight ridge over his ruddy and slightly swelling cheeks, so that his eyes seemed to retreat into his head. The colour of his eyes was bluish-grey, their glance keen and animated. His face was rather long; his nose of more than ordinary length; the mouth large; the lips full, the upper a little thicker than the lower; his beard black mingled with gray, very long and moderately thick. . . . I send you a *eulogium* of my revered father, Mr. Buchanan, with a portrait of him done to the life.

Just as I am signing this letter, an artist has opportunely come in, and brought in one box the likenesses of Knox and Buchanan.

RECENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

THE *Contemporary Review* for July is on the whole a very interesting and readable number. It opens with an article on 'The Future of Siam' by Mr. Henry Norman. Mr. Norman says that the future of Siam is a vastly more important question to Europe than it would seem at first sight. This country, he says, is the largest and richest piece of the earth's surface remaining in the possession of a race not strong enough to defend it nor civilised enough to develop it. If it were thoroughly opened up to trade it would constitute a new market richer than anything else could offer except the opening up of China itself. And the question of its future must very soon be settled. France is putting forward claims for territory which the Siamese mean to fight for though her chances of success are infinitely small. But when France has settled with Siam and proceeds to carry out what appears to be her policy in the East her interests will at once conflict with those of England, who is, and who, says Mr. Norman, must remain, *the great power in the East.* For the sake of the peace and security of her present possessions and for the sake of future markets England must not allow Siam to be absorbed by France

In the course of his article Mr. Norman gives a good deal of valuable information regarding the people of Siam and the administration of government, which seems to be hopelessly inefficient and corrupt; and he takes occasion to point out the unreliable nature of some of Mr. Curzon's statements on the subject.

Professor Bryce contributes a very thoughtful article on 'The Teaching of Civic Duty'—an abridged form of an address delivered to the London Association of Head Masters of Public Elementary Schools. Professor Bryce begins by pointing out that "in Britain, as in most countries, each step in the extension of popular education has been due to some antecedent political change. Men have not received the franchise because they had been already sufficiently instructed to receive it, but have been provided with the means of instruction after the franchise had been given partly because they used their new power to demand those means, partly because it was felt that the education of the citizens had become more directly and pressingly needful for the welfare of the state." Abundant proof of this is to be found in the history of the English people during the last twenty-five or thirty years. It means, we suppose, that individuals must possess some measure of independent life, before they can acquire the power of living well.

What Professor Bryce means by civic duty is the domestic side of patriotism—the quiet and sober sense in a man of what he owes to the community into which he is born, and which he helps to govern. This kind of patriotism, he says, it has been found specially hard to maintain in modern times and in large countries. In the first place the citizen of a large state finds it much more difficult to feel that he individually counts for something than the citizen of a small city republic such as those of Greece and Rome were. Secondly, there is little romantic in the way in which men are now called upon to show their devotion to the state. And thirdly, the extent to which party spirit tends to overlay, if not to supersede, national spirit in those self-governing countries whose politics are worked by parties, obscures the nature of true patriotism. In order to counteract these influences those to whom the instruction of the future citizens of a country is entrusted must regard it as an integral part of their work to instruct their pupils in what Professor Bryce has called civic duty. They must endeavour to cultivate in them the habit of striving to know what is best for their country as a whole, the habit of placing their country's interest, when they know it, above party or class feeling, and the habit of being willing to take trouble, personal and even tedious trouble, for the well-governing of every public community of which they are members, be it a township or parish, a ward or a city, or the nation as a whole. For this purpose they must seek to impart such a knowledge of the institutions of their country as will enable the young citizen to comprehend their working and to inspire a love for the nation, an appreciation of all that makes its true greatness, a desire to join in serving it. Practically this amounts to the efficient teaching of history and institutions, with special reference to the events and the institutions of the present time. And history, says Professor Bryce, is of all the subjects which schools attempt to handle, perhaps the worst taught. "To teach history," he says, "a man must be a historian—that is to say, must understand the methods of history, must have the power of realising the dead past as a living present, must, in fact have a touch of imagination as well as a vastly larger amount of positive knowledge than he will attempt to pile upon the memory of his class." There are not many teachers either in elementary or in advanced schools, who are fully possessed of these qualifications, and so it is not very wonderful that the teaching of history is not generally satisfactory. Many of the hints given by Professor Bryce in dealing with this part of his subject will be found very helpful by teachers who are conscious of their own defects and who wish to increase the efficiency of their teaching.

Last month we noticed an article

entitled 'Ulster: Facts and Figures', in which the writer, Mr. J. G. Colclough proved from statistics compiled from blue books and other sources that the boasted superiority of Ulster to the rest of Ireland rested on no firm foundation of fact. We expressed our doubt as to whether some of his inferences were legitimate. Mr. Colclough's 'facts and figures' are dealt with by Mr. Thomas Sinclair in the present number, and in many cases are made to yield very different conclusions from those arrived at by Mr. Colclough. One of the most puzzling things in Mr. Colclough's article was the statement that "in 1891 the value of exports from Belfast was only £96,622," a statement used to place Belfast between Aberdeen and Wick. This sum, it turns out, was the value of produce exported *direct* to foreign countries and British colonies. But unfortunately for Mr. Colclough the value of the produce so exported is less than one seventieth of the total value of Belfast produce intended for abroad, the greater part of which is sent to Liverpool, Glasgow, London, and other places, for transhipment. A blunder of this magnitude is sufficient to shatter one's faith in Mr. Colclough's capacity for dealing with statistics of any kind; and Mr. Sinclair has little difficulty in showing that most of the 'facts and figures' adduced by him can be made to serve a very different purpose from that to which they have been put. After reading Mr. Sinclair's reply one finds it rather difficult to believe that incapability is Mr. Colclough's greatest failing.

Under the title of 'My Testament' Père Hyacinthe Loyson recounts some of the chief incidents of his life, which, he says, has been devoted to two sacred causes—that of his country and that of the Church; and states the elements of his faith. This statement certainly lends no support to the rumour recently in circulation that he had gone back to the Church of Rome. He has great faith in the power of Christianity to redeem the world. But the Christianity that will do this will not be the Christianity of the Romish Church, nor indeed the Christianity of the present day at all. "Christianity," he says, "must regain its true character; it must be the religion of the Gospel, the religion of justice and of charity. It must tear itself free from the superstitions which degrade it, from the sects which rend it in fragments, from the clergies and the governments who enslave and exploit it." On theological matters Père Loyson's position seems to be that of our most scholarly and liberal-minded divines. Science "must not be ignored," for it is "a revelation, at once human and divine;" nor must we "confound the Word of God with the human alloy from which a sound exegesis is separating it every day."

Mr. Herbert Spencer has reprinted the articles which he contributed recently to the *Nineteenth Century*; and in view of the extensive sale which the pamphlet is likely to have Mr. G. J. Romanes has written a postscript to the article which he contributed to the April number of the *Contemporary* on the Spencer-Weismannian controversy. His present object is to give an illustration of the principle of Panmixia, his exposition of which Mr. Spencer professed not to understand; and to meet Mr. Spencer's criticism of that part of his article which dealt with the influence of a previous sire. Mr. Spencer contributes two short notes in reply.

Professor Marcus Hartog makes a short contribution to the controversy. While showing genuine admiration for much of Weismann's work Professor Hartog sums up his opinion of Weismann's theories in the following not very favourable terms:—

"We see that his theories have been shifted as often as a house in a Western city; that their positive objective basis is still as weak as ever; that they are condemned by the canon under which their author condemns Lamarck's doctrine; and yet that they involve a truly Lamarckian view of variation under one set of causes. During his ten year's campaign Weismann has, it is true, won brilliant successes in the field, which have invested him with rare prestige; but he has been forced from one set of outworks after another, and now his main camp is pitched on ground commanded in part by the enemy. Is not this full justification for those biologists who refused to surrender the position occupied

by the older evolutionists, and fortified with consummate skill by Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin, at the first summons of the hostile general?"

Archdeacon Farrar follows up his paper on 'Sacerdotalism' contributed to the *Contemporary Review* in July 1892, with a paper entitled 'Undoing the Work of the Reformation'. As its title indicates, it deals with the ritualistic and Romanising tendencies so rampant in the Anglican Church at the present time. In forcible and indignant language Archdeacon Farrar shows how the principles of the Reformation are being wilfully obscured or departed from by a section of the English clergy, and draws attention to the evils that have ever followed in the wake of Roman supremacy. His picture of the present state of things is a very gloomy one, and perhaps his most hopeful words with regard to the future are these:—"The days of disruption are being hastened on with giant strides."

Dr. Dillon contributes to the present number a long paper entitled 'The Original Poem of Job.' Dr. Dillon's view of the authorship and date of Job seems to be very much the same as that expressed by Professor Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, only he is a good deal more positive in his statements than Professor Driver has felt justifiable. This may be to some extent the outcome of recent investigation and especially of some discoveries made by Professor Bickell of Vienna, but it is more probably due chiefly to a difference of temper in the two writers. Dr. Dillon displays occasionally a want of patience with the natural failings of humanity. He gives a translation of the poem, intended to indicate both the extent and the metrical structure of the original composition.

Mr. Vernon Lee continues his 'May-Day Dialogue'; and Mr A. F. Leach writes an article on Winchester College *à propos* of the 500th anniversary which was celebrated last month.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for July appeals mainly to English readers, its articles discussing for the most part questions which concern us in India only indirectly. The striking exception is an account of 'The Siamese Boundary Question', by Mr. Curzon, which opens up a vista of new relations for India of the utmost importance. Freed from his duties as Under Secretary of State for India by the return of the Liberals to power last July, the writer by way of completing his personal acquaintance with the neighbour-states of our Indian Empire, spent the end of last year in a visit to Siam, and consequently speaks with some authority. By the recent acquisitions of Burma by England, and Tongking, Annam, and Cambodia by France, Siam has been brought into the relation of neighbour to these two powers. When the recent unsettled history of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula is remembered, nobody will wonder that this new relationship has produced questions as to the right boundaries of Siam both westward towards British territory and eastward towards French. By negotiation, in which Mr Curzon assures us a spirit of compromise has prevailed, the Anglo-Siamese frontiers are being amicably settled. He states, however, that the desire of Siam for a similar delimitation with France has been baffled by "the French temper (which) appears to prefer force to argument." With the aid of a map he shows clearly how the French claims have been almost yearly increasing, and how from the preposterous utterances of irresponsible Chauvinists they have become the official demands of ministers. He shows how to support these claims facts and declarations have been misrepresented, and treaties, even the most recent, set at nought.

The official demand of France at the present moment is for the cession of all the territory to the east of the Mekong river. This is based upon the assertion that this properly belongs to Annam and therefore passes with Annam to France. Mr. Curzon quotes the words of the French Colonial Minister spoken last February in the Chamber:—

"The Government considers that the left bank of the Mekong constitutes to the north of Indo-China the western limit of the sphere of French influence; and its opinion rests upon *the incontestable*

rights of Annam consecrated by a possession of several centuries."

Mr. Curzon has not the slightest difficulty in showing on the testimony of French maps and contemporary writers that when Annam was at the height of its power about sixty years ago no one claimed that its dominions had such an extent westward as is now asserted. He pertinently also asks whether the world is prepared for such a new criterion of political geography as would be involved in conceding the right of the French to these territories on the ground that "they may once in bygone days have been claimed by or may even have owned a transient allegiance to Annam."

The practical object sought by the advance of French claims is the possession of a trade-route which may secure to France the control of the commerce between Europe and South-West China. The rivers passing through Tongking which it was hoped would tap the trade of the Chinese province of Yunnan have proved to be unnavigable. It is hoped that the Mekong may prove more serviceable. Mr. Curzon, however, shows how unlikely this is both from the existence of other routes and the desolate nature of the territory the Mekong traverses. He does not anticipate any real resistance to these claims of France on the part of Siam, nor does he call on England to interfere in the present dispute But, calling attention to the proximity of Siam to the Indian Empire, the millions of British capital that are sunk in the country, and the enormous preponderance of British political and commercial interests he would prevent any further encroachments by France upon Siam by converting the latter into a second Afghanistan. Immediately after the arrangement of the present dispute, he would give France the warning, 'Hands off', and make it clearly understood that the establishment of French influence at Bangkok or any advance westward could only be effected at the cost of rupture with England.

THE *Fortnightly Review* prints the extremely interesting lecture on the recent solar eclipse which Professor Thorpe delivered last month at the Royal Institution. The eclipse of last April could be seen to be total at several places where the chances of good weather were sufficient to induce people to make expeditions to them in order to observe and study the corona of the sun. The Americans went to stations in Chili. They report that they observed four streamers, two of which had a length exceeding the sun's radius—stretching out more than 435,000 miles. Professor Schaeberle seems to have obtained some magnificent photographs, one of them showing an image of the sun four inches in diameter, the corona covering a plate eighteen by twenty-two inches. These photographs are said to afford high presumptive evidence of the truth of the mechanical theory of the corona which is associated with Professor Schaeberle's name. The English expedition with Professor Thorpe at its head, like the French expedition under the charge of M. Deslandres, went to Senegambia as more accessible and as likely to give a cloudless sky. They seem to have been equally successful. The most novel of the observations relate to the rotation of the corona. Negatives were obtained showing the spectra of two points on opposite sides of the corona, the lines of which indicate large displacements. From the measurements it appears that the corona travels nearly with the disc in its motion and is thus subject to its periodical rotational movement.

In an article entitled 'The Evolution of our Race' Mr. Frederic Harrison briefly reviews the main subjects dealt with in Mr. C. H. Pearson's *National Life and Character*, and criticises some of the conclusions arrived at by the author regarding the future of humanity. Mr. Harrison expresses great admiration for the book as a whole, and with one side of it he is in thorough agreement. He thinks Mr. Pearson is on the whole very accurate in his diagnosis of the present condition of the human race; and in his present article he begins by assuming as clearly demonstrated facts the tendencies from which Mr. Pearson has sought to make a forecast as to

the future. But he will not accept the forecast itself: he thinks Mr. Pearson has based it too largely on the supposition that the regenerative forces of the future will be almost entirely those of the present, that humanity is incapable of evolving new forces to neutralise those which at the present day are undoubtedly operating in the direction of decay. Mr. Pearson has, in fact, omitted to take account of what the religion of humanity is to do for the race. Mr. Harrison's article is of course brilliantly written, but to most people it will seem terribly wanting in perspective and in judicial fairness. The attack which it contains on Christian missions is specially ill-considered, and betrays either a terrible lack of good feeling or very lamentable ignorance of the facts of the case. Just as Mr. Harrison will not admit that the final conclusion regarding the future of humanity is as gloomy as Mr. Pearson has drawn it, so many of his readers will refuse to accept his statement that the final conclusion regarding Christian missions has been drawn, and that it is to the effect that missions have retarded the civilisation of the more backward races, and, indeed, have been the unconscious source of profound mischief.

Dr. Brock writes on the 'Advance of the United States during One Hundred Years'. His conclusions, based on copious statistics, are given in the following words:—

"In recent years, by the application of steam and electricity, the construction of new lines of railroad, the opening up of large areas of new territory, the extension of lines of telegraphs, constant improvement in all classes of machinery, new inventions by which labour is made easy and hours of labour are shortened, the greatly increased facilities for educational and religious culture, a wonderful advancement among the American people in nearly all conditions has been brought about, so that they are now the most comfortably housed, the best clothed, and the best fed people in the world. This wonderful progress has never been more marked than it is at present. In the field of science there is active research and investigation, producing results that are a constant surprise. Inventive genius is continually developing new and better methods by which labour is lightened. There is wonderful activity in all lines of industry, which turn out products in greater abundance from the looms, the mills, and the factories, and at lower prices than ever before. The opportunities for education by schools, colleges, and free libraries, have been constantly increased. Never before has religious and philanthropic thought been more awakened and generous efforts more freely exerted to relieve the suffering, to provide for the needy, and minister to the unfortunate. All of these facts indicate a great advance on right lines to a higher, better, and purer civilisation than has ever before existed in the world's history."

Surely the Americans are the chosen people of our time! Certain it is that any one who takes the same view as does Dr. Brock of the tendencies of the time will never be afflicted with the pessimism of Mr. Pearson.

Sir Richard Temple contributes a short article on 'French Movements in Siam'. He points out that those who know the East know but too well that in these French movements there may lurk danger to British interests. For by them the independence of Siam is menaced, and the independence of Siam, her freedom from exclusive foreign influence, and the inviolability of her territory, are distinctly matters of concern to England. Sir Richard Temple's idea of what the policy of England in this matter should be seems to be pretty much that which Mr. Henry Norman has expressed in the *Contemporary Review*.

Among other articles in the present number of the *Fortnightly* are 'A Visit to Prince Bismarck', by Mr. G. W. Smalley; 'The Mausoleum of Ibsen', by Mr. William Archer; 'The Russian Intrigues in South-Eastern Europe', by Mr. C. B. Roylance-Kent; and 'The Progress of Women's Trade-Unions', by Miss E. March Phillips. Mr. Grant Allen writes in a most sarcastic vein on 'Beautiful London', a city "as perfect as its own clear atmosphere," and "a beautiful, a picturesque, and a brilliant capital."